

WILSON
LSC
UNC-CH
ANNEX

Z2172
S34
1955



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2018 with funding from
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

<https://archive.org/details/vernacularbooksi00schu>

DATE DUE

JUN 18 2002

MAY 23 2002

GAYLORD

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

UNIVERSITY OF N.C. AT CHAPEL HILL



00014316867

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH C
STUDIES IN THE ROMANCE LANGUAGES
AND LITERATURES

Number 25

VERNACULAR BOOKS IN PARISIAN
PRIVATE LIBRARIES OF THE
SIXTEENTH CENTURY ACCORDING
TO THE NOTARIAL INVENTORIES

By

A. H. SCHUTZ

S. A. STOUDENRKE

CHAPEL HILL
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS

THE LIBRARY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF
NORTH CAROLINA
AT CHAPEL HILL



Wilson Annex

PRESENTED BY

Mary Arthur Stoudemire

Vernacular Books In Parisian Private Libraries
Of The Sixteenth Century
According To The Notarial Inventories

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
STUDIES IN THE ROMANCE LANGUAGES
AND LITERATURES

Number 25

VERNACULAR BOOKS IN PARISIAN
PRIVATE LIBRARIES OF THE
SIXTEENTH CENTURY ACCORDING
TO THE NOTARIAL INVENTORIES

By

A. H. SCHUTZ

S: A: STOUDEMIRE

CHAPEL HILL
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS

Copyright 1955
The University of North Carolina Press

Printed in U.S.A. by
The Orange Printshop
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

C O N T E N T S

I. Introduction	
A. The Notarial Inventories	1
B. Rabelais	9
C. The “Pléiade” Movement	16
D. Montaigne	25
II. Index of Books in the Notarial Inventories	31
III. List of Inventories	74
Bibliography	87

PREFACE

In research it often happens that one starts out looking for one thing and ends up with another quite different from his original project. Such indeed has been the history of the present study. In the preparation of an article on "Ronsard's 'Amours' XXXII and the Tradition of the Synthetic Lady,"¹ I thought I might find evidence that the chief of the *Pléiade* had direct contact with mediaeval lyric sources. To pursue this idea I went to Paris in 1949, with the assistance of a grant-in-aid from the American Philosophical Society, only to encounter results that seemed utterly nil.

At this juncture several Renaissance scholars, chiefly Gustave Cohen, advised me to try the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, where, sometime previously, there had been projected a study of booksellers' stocks and private libraries of the late mediaeval period and the sixteenth century. With scanty finances they had, as a matter of fact, made a collection of published inventory titles and had copied a limited number of unpublished documents from the *Minutier Central des Notaires* located next door. The able and courteous Sécrétaire-Général, Mlle J. Vielliard, urged me to inquire at that larger establishment, where I found such unexplored treasure that it was clearly impossible to handle the material in a limited time. I had to content myself for the moment with a few inventories and some copies of such documents in the Institut de Recherche, publishing the findings in an article, "Gleanings from Parisian Private Libraries of the Early Renaissance, (1494-1558)."²

With the assistance of a Fulbright research fellowship I was finally able to spend the academic year 1951-52 gaining some competence in the deciphering of the sixteenth century notarial hand and going through the classified documents of the *Minutier*. A debt of gratitude is due to Mme Jurgens and Mlle Fleury of that organization, whose professional capacity and devotion to their work proved of immense value. Besides some published sources, these documents were supplemented by unpublished material from the *Bibliothèque Nationale* (property divisions and the like) and from Bordeaux, the latter through the generosity of Professor G. E. Diller, of Dartmouth College. The

¹ *Romance Philology*, I (1947-48), 125-35.

² *Romance Philology*, V (1951-52), 25-34.

PREFACE

total runs to over 220 inventories, representing close to 650 book titles.

I was obliged to limit myself to items in the vernacular. To go further and study the purely humanistic may even be beyond the capacity of one individual. Certainly it is a lifetime job. That the task is eminently worth while is clear from such results as have been obtained, which, though not definitive, lead clearly in certain directions that will perhaps cause literary historians to take a second look at many well-rooted beliefs.

Ohio State University
Columbus, Ohio

A.H.S.

I. INTRODUCTION

A. THE NOTARIAL INVENTORIES

IN studying a book one's emphasis may be exceedingly varied. It is possible to consider the genesis or nature of the creative process, the work's literary merits or defects, or the manner and the effect of its transmission to posterity. This last approach may itself be diversely conceived. There is, on the one hand, the purely bibliographic history, the format, the number of editions and their spread, all considered from the viewpoint of the librarian and the historian of printing. On the other hand, it is possible to be primarily concerned with the impact on the reader, who he was, what he preferred, and even what were the mutations of his judgment. In the present instance attention will fall on a clearly defined stratum of sixteenth-century society, the middle class and lower nobility, which furnished a large contingent of readers and collectors.

It is primarily bibliography which has furnished the chief substance of study for a determination of the relations between books and readers. The British in particular have worked on the publishing trade as revealed in the Public Record Office, the Stationers' Register, and a few private papers. A recent monograph is that by H. S. Bennett, *English Books & Readers* (Cambridge, 1952), which takes in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Professor Raymond Lebègue has tested the popularity of the Pléiade movement in certain aspects by examining the editions. An extensive effort is that of the Bibliothèque Nationale manuscript card catalogue, hardly publicized and a bit difficult of access, classified under printers or editors. Under the heading "Verard," for example, one can find all the titles in the Bibliothèque Nationale put out by that renowned house, particularly the romances of chivalry in which the firm specialized.

Such data, representing as they do a seller's market, are in need of control by those safeguards that offer a glance at the buyer's market. The only way to do that is to study those available documents which provide lists of book holdings. We have several kinds of such records—book transfers, formal catalogues of princely families who took pride in their holdings, and the appraisals of estates for legal purposes found in the notarial inventories. We must rule out as evidence the great libraries like those of Charles V, which are public institutions with the

archaic character implicit in the guardianship of the national treasure, timeless as it is in an old civilization. The private collection, much more closely limited as to date, is likely to be of greater use.

What are the notarial inventories? A few were drawn up during the lifetime of a person preliminary to the division of property, e.g., that of Maistre Robert Baudry, whose inventory, incidentally, is not in the *Minutier*, but is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fr. 6536. One, that of René Gentil, of which more later, was drawn up in connection with the confiscation of his property. By far the larger number are known as "Inventaires après décès," required in all cases involving settlement of estates, listing all possessions of the deceased. The form is almost completely stereotyped. After the usual beginning—on request of so-and-so, relatives of so-and-so, "en son vivant" a member of a given profession or trade, who departed this life on a given date (here rather variable comment), said relatives appearing before me (official named) asking that his worldly goods be catalogued and appraised—items are grouped in a manner so conventionalized that a little experience can tell just where books, if any, will be mentioned. Inasmuch as every classification (furniture, lands, etc.) demanded a licensed appraiser, the bibliophile's heirs would summon a "libraire juré," usually a prominent person in the trade like Corrozet or Galiot du Pré. Obviously there would be no point in asking for such a service unless the holdings warranted it. Otherwise the former owner could not be classed as a bibliophile and the probability is that he would not mention the few volumes he had. It is this situation which accounts for the fact that, out of about 2000 inventories consulted, only one out of every ten had books.

It is fortunate for us today that the acquisitive bourgeois of the French Renaissance was intent on leaving exceedingly detailed appraisals of his possessions, ranging from furniture and clothing to papers, music, pictures, and books of all descriptions, an archaeological treasure trove that calls loudly for the social historian who is willing to do basic research. He would find himself richly rewarded. From the literary point of view, these appraisals have not remained unnoticed. The excellent article by D. Mornet, "L'enseignement des bibliothèques privées, 1750-80," indicates what lessons are to be

¹ *Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France*, XVII (1910), 415.

drawn, but spends some time warning the possibly uncritical enthusiast against confusing what a bibliophile collects with what he actually reads. This is certainly a truth to which one must subscribe, although with strong reservations as to the sixteenth century, as will be shown. Since Mornet, interest in this type of research has increased. Grente's *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises*, s.v. "Librairies," makes this significant observation: "Pour bien connaître le nombre et la composition des bibliothèques privées, il faut s'adresser aux inventaires ou catalogues dressés du vivant des collectionneurs ou à leur décès. Mais trop peu de ces catalogues ont été exhumés et aucune étude d'ensemble n'en a fait encore la synthèse." A start was made when a certain number of texts were copied under the auspices of the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes. In addition, two theses of the Ecole des Chartes undertook a systematic exploration of the available texts—one by Mlle Nicole Bourdel and the other, far more thorough, by Mlle Madeleine Connat (Mme Jurgens), the able paleographer of the Minutier Central des Notaires. These two theses list many texts (by no means even an overwhelming majority) and make a few soundings. Upon these beginnings the present study, while far from the comprehensive "synthèse" desired by Grente, has made certain definite advances, which may be listed as follows:

1. All classified inventories in the notarial archives of Paris, known as the Minutier Central des Notaires, have been consulted, according to information given me.
2. Systematic study from the viewpoint of the literary historian has been made of those which contain books in the vernacular, French, Italian, Spanish, and a few rare items in German.
3. The fact that there are over 219 such inventories and book transfers, fairly evenly spaced throughout the sixteenth century, constitutes a good enough sampling to make the results worthy of consideration, even though not definitive.
4. Over 600 titles have been indexed, identified (with such exceptions as will be indicated), and compared with available editions.
5. Conclusions, though tentative, are indicative of possibly extensive changes in some of our "idées reçues" on the literary history of the French Renaissance.

That more has not been done and that it has taken long to

do this much is due to financial obstacles in the path of governmental agencies, but there are many difficulties inherent in the nature of the inventories themselves. In France, the notary does what is done here mainly by the lawyer, with the difference that he keeps the family papers as well, often for generations, as the office or “étude” passes from father to son or son-in-law. That the trusteeship has been far from ideally executed is clear from the often worm-eaten and water-logged papers that were discovered in vermin-infested cellars or leaky garrets when, in 1928, the government was finally empowered to step in and save its precious heritage, house it decently, if not at all luxuriously, and centralize its holdings for consultation. It is a mystery how so many survived the fifteenth century in Paris (the fourteenth in the Midi) to find a decent lodging in the bleak lower floors, devoid of electricity, in the old Hôtel de Soubise.

With all the centralization, each notary retains full proprietary rights over his own papers. The individual character of each “étude” remains unaltered, and consent of the owner must be obtained even to consult a document. The reactions of the various notaries are variable. There are indeed some who have small sympathy for research into what they look upon as a private domain. To get a photograph of any paper is next to impossible. The custodian of Etude LXXIII, in which appears the inventory of Galiot du Pré, celebrated publisher, deceased 1561, refused on the grounds that some “ayant droit”—to wit, some heir—might turn up to object.

The system described as current in Paris has been extended to a few cities. Indeed, in some of them the notarial repositories have for some time been well taken care of. The size of the city is not always an indication of the situation. Even in Paris, classification is not yet completed, but inventories have been separated from other types of papers and gathered in “liasses” by centuries, though no index exists for the sixteenth century as yet. In Rouen, during 1952, largely as a result of war conditions, great heaps of mixed documents of all types lay around in an abandoned church, in the custody of a devoted but impotent archivist, harried by lack of time and of money. Little can be done there at present, but larger cities are favored localities. The major part of my material is, in fact, from Paris, though exceptionally some has come into my possession from Bordeaux, through the generosity of Professor

G. E. Diller of Dartmouth College; a few items I picked up during a short stay in Rouen and some others, printed, from Amiens. It is true that there is an occasional anomaly, in that a document filed in Paris may belong to an individual holding office elsewhere, as in the case of A. Langlois (Minutier Central, *Etude XIX*, liasse 265) who was a "greffier au baillage de Meaux."

The accurate dating of these sworn documents allows certain statements as to the time of appearance of a given work and possible significance at a given moment. Sometimes essential data are furnished, as in the case of the famous translator, D'Herberay des Essarts, the date of whose death has never been determined, but which is shown to be October 27, 1552.

If we have rigid time controls, we also have information on the social status of the book collectors. Most of them belonged to the legal circles, constituted as these were into a complex hierarchy of numerous gradations. Most commonly mentioned is the "conseiller du roi." There were numerous royal councils, membership in which conferred such a title. The designation could also be honorary; by the time of Louis XIII, a number of judges affected it, and it is possible that a "conseiller médecin du roi" would belong in that category. We meet also with high ranking members of the Parlement and their accepted colleagues, the "maîtres des requêtes." From there we descend to the "avocats" and further still to the "notaires," thence to the "procureurs," whose lowly status is made evident by the fact they did not have to have a degree, and on to the "greffiers" or legal clerks, whose status had been clarified under Henry III, and thence to subaltern grades like the "huissiers," whose duties are not easy to determine. We include in this classification various finance functionaries, "receveurs" of all sorts in the bizarre tax system, some "échevins" or city officials (of Amiens and Metz, respectively), a "lieutenant criminel" and the celebrated "commissaire de l'artillerie," D'Herberay des Essarts. It was largely a freshly expanded class, representing institutions recently burgeoned under François I. Many of these people had bought noble lands and crossed the thin line into the aristocracy.

It is not astonishing to observe that such people are interested in reading. The same holds for a different type, the

physician. What strikes our attention is the man of apparently humbler status, the "marchand bourgeois" and even the artisan, who, if he follows the Renaissance tradition, might be a fellow of some learning. It is illuminating to see a tabulation by profession of those whose occupation appears in the inventories examined.

Legal and official persons	105
"Marchands-bourgeois," & other trades people including 2 "merciers," 3 innkeepers, 3 apothecaries	23
Booksellers	15
Physicians, including surgeons	17
Ecclesiastics	11
Teachers	2

Not included are book transfers, some fifteen minor nobles who might also be legal gentry, many unspecified occupations, and the royal houses. Included are inventories for women whose husbands' professions are known. There are eight, however, where no such mention is made. This holds also for nobility of various grades. It happens, unfortunately, that the occupational status is sometimes illegible, since this information is usually stated a few lines down on the first page, a location which is especially vulnerable to the ravages of time.

By and large, we can say that the clientèle is upper middle class, either in wealth or rank, and rather closely knit. Since many were residents of the old Marais district, it gives the researcher of the twentieth century a peculiar feeling to read inventories made some four hundred years ago in houses but a few blocks away from the building at 87 rue Vieille-du-Temple where these documents are at present deposited. They are in the main undistinguished and inconspicuous folk, except for a few. There is François de Carvenonay, or Kervenonoy, tutor of Henry III, whose name the popular etymology twisted into Carnavalet. Among those whose lives made sombre drama was the upright Barnabé Brisson, hanged by the Conseil des Seize of the League on November 15, 1591, whose inventory, *Etude LXXVIII liasse 1551*, dates from Dec. 7th of that year. The tragedy is well known and even drew the attention of the poet Passerat.² There was the case of the Italian René Gentil, who

² See his *Delitiae poetarum gallorum*, 1609, III, 158; Du Verdier, I, 207.

had an extraordinary rise in financial circles until a few unfortunate irregularities caused him to be clapped into the Bastille and his property confiscated and thereupon inventoried by the government in 1537. A note written on Etude CXXII, Liasse 1331, adds that ". . . le président Gentil fut pendu et estranglé au gibet de Montfaucon le mardi vingt et cinquiesme jour de septembre, 1543." An epitaph appears in the Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fr. 22560, and he also attracted the attention of Théodore de Bèze.³ There are other such instances of confiscation, mainly of persons "soupçonnés de religion."

Of Galiot du Pré we have already spoken. One of the greatest publishers of his time, he is the subject of a long study by A. Tilley.⁴ The latter, however, did not mention the stock inventory filed under LXXIII, 43, Liasse 43, apparently never hitherto described, if indeed it was known at all. It is most unfortunate that it cannot be reproduced in toto, not only because of its mere extent, but also because of its altogether unusual wealth of bibliographic detail, of which most of the lists available furnish exceedingly little.

Generally the information is extremely meager, often no more than an author's name. The method used in the appraisals at times led to all manner of distortions, because the appraiser read the titles as they occurred (doubtless, judging from the lists, repeating things he had been over before), while a clerk took them down, often in garbled form comprehensible only in terms of aural transmission. Thus *L'Adolescence* is recorded as *La Dolescence*, which Marot never intended. *Le Livre de Cameron* was not meant by Boccaccio to appear in Scottish plaids. *L'Arrest Public* is a disguise for *La République* of Plato. As for the odd *Boeuf en tonne*, it appears to cover up no less than the romance of chivalry known as the *Boeve d'Antone*.

Such garbled titles produce a certain number of difficulties, but they do not occur often enough to constitute a serious problem. The major obstacle in using these records is the handwriting, which is indescribable to anybody who has not seen it. A few sessions with the diabolical scrawl used by the clerks of that period and it will be abundantly clear why even the students of the Ecole des Chartes preferred in so many cases to work at something less ungrateful. Few can read it with the ease of

³ See Bouillet, *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie*.

⁴ *Renaissance Studies*, p. 168.

Mme Jurgens of the Minutier Central, and it takes something of an apprenticeship even to decipher slowly. There is no paleographic manual for this period, and indeed one is sorely needed.

Of what value are these book lists? If we were examining similar lists for our own time, what would they reveal? Nowadays, a personal collection represents only a portion of what is actually read. A host of ephemera, like newspapers or magazines, are not preserved in the home. Conversely, an established family may treasure a prize won in school forty years ago or more; or it may keep on its shelves, in the year 1955, something inherited from a relative of Civil War days or something which hails from the era of the chafing dish or the polonaise. As evidence of contemporary taste it would have to be used with caution.

The state of affairs in the French Renaissance was different. Several segments of the bourgeoisie had recently expanded, in some cases amounting to a freshly constituted group. This means that the libraries were less likely to be very old, although some may well have been. The principal consideration is, on the other hand, that printing was comparatively new, most editions going back hardly any further than the last decade of the preceding century. The bulk of publication was restricted to a certain number of specialized houses, like Verard or Corrozet. *Ipsa facto*, the gap between date of publication and date of acquisition had to be more limited than at any subsequent time.

It is doubtless unfortunate that, because of limitations of time and scope, this study could not include Greek and Latin. Obviously, a complete scission between this element and the vernacular is impossible. Petrarch's *De remediis*, the *Disticha Catonis* and the like must be considered as much in the original as in the translations by which they touched on vernacular literature. Nor is it always possible to exclude the *Dictionarium Latino-Gallicum* of Henri Estienne when we have to mention his *Précellence*. Nevertheless, overlapping will be held to a minimum. To do justice to the "livres en humanité" would be a task many times greater than our present one, because of the enormous numerical superiority of these books. That it must be done will, we hope, appear from this more modest effort, and it is to be hoped that this large contingent of humanistic works will one day receive its due.

Even so, it is not always possible to delimit carefully in other respects. Are we to take in only that which is "literary"? A treatise on jelly making is not to be ranked with Du Bellay, yet such modest domestic activities had definite repercussions on Renaissance thought, and even the humblest of pamphlets on how to do this or that may not be barred. It is even hard to say what constitutes a book. It may range from a pamphlet through the conventional octavo to an occasional manuscript, which appears at times even in bourgeois collections, though infinitely less often than in the great princely houses, which had a great number of artistic illuminations. Lastly, while the so called "public"—i.e. royal or ducal—library is not central to the following discussion, it must be included, if only for purposes of comparison. This means that the term "private," by which we refer to the bourgeois collections, is not to be taken in our title in any exclusive sense. The comparisons between the two main types of libraries are too instructive to be ignored.

B. RABELAIS

Rabelais wrote about giants and was himself one. His artistic stature alone entitles him to independent consideration here. In subject matter he particularly epitomized, in the two decades from 1532 to 1552, the major currents of contemporary thought. Unlike the Pléiade, he staged no poetic revolution. His insight, however, caused him to sense the ideas by which he was surrounded and even to adapt the construction of his tale to the very sequence of those ideas. In other words, the evolution of his thought paralleled, as our dated inventories bring out, the order in which some of the major manifestations of the French Renaissance unfolded themselves.

It has been frequently noted that he represented, especially in his early thinking, the transition from the Middle Ages. In the domain of verse, such little as there is, he never rose above the level of the Rhétoriqueurs. The *Gargantua* and the first book of the *Pantagruel* lean heavily on the *chansons de geste* and the Arthurian stories.⁵ Was this a personal whim? The inventories have an effective answer to that question.

Clement furnishes us with a long and fairly complete list of epics and romances published between 1500 and 1553, the date

⁵ N. H. Clement, *The Influence of the Arthurian Romances on the Five Books of Rabelais* (Berkeley, 1926).

of Rabelais' death. A certain number of the titles are accompanied by citations from the *Pantagruel* indicating, with variable degrees of cogency, that this type of literature was known to the author. Voracious reader that he was, the fact causes no surprise. What is more significant is that he felt that his public would be interested, and for the accuracy of his appraisal we have documentary proof. Slightly under ten per cent of all the titles in the Index of Books in the Notarial Inventories are epics or romances.

The scattering of titles is great. Almost half, 28, are mentioned only once, 7 twice, 7 three times, 2 four times, 1 five times, 4 six times, 1 seven times, and 1 eight times. Only a few are more popular: *Godefroy de Bouillon*, with ten occurrences, *Huon de Bordeaux*, nine, *Lancelot*, twenty, *Tristan de Loonois*, eleven. Of the last four, according to Clement, three were known to Rabelais. The fourth certainly must have been, but Clement nowhere mentioned it. This of course does not mean that others in the inventories were not known to our author, but simply that the great popularity of the "Big Four" was coincident with their mention by Alcofribas Nasier. Most widely read is the first group, i.e., those originating in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The greatest scattering occurs among the later epics.

In general, our list bears out the observation that dates of printed editions and those of inventories travel along in pretty much parallel manner. This means the latter constitute a body of evidence which goes far toward proving that acquisition of such books parallels their publication and that their presence is not an archaism. This is all the more important since, although some 220 inventories are a small number compared to the volume of contemporary printing, their even spacing throughout the century provides a fair sampling of the entire period.

The disparities that exist are more noticeable after 1555, after which we find twenty-two editions and only eleven titles that are found in private collections. After that date, in other words, printing continues apace, while fewer titles are recorded in our documents. Two factors may enter into this. As the century progressed, this type of literature was bulked in the "pacquets de vieux livres," and cheaper editions were succeeding the quite expensive ones that had taken the fancy of the

wealthy middle class in earlier days. A firm could go on printing the same books, but for a different public. Both considerations amount to the same thing: the cheapness of the edition made the work seem less worthy of declaration.

The epics and romances, important as they are, did not constitute more than the framework of the *Pantagruel* and the *Gargantua*. Woven into the conventional "enfances" of the hero is that paean of the Renaissance Triumphant which is the program of education for a royal prince. We may select from it two items.

First, what of the textbooks and miscellaneous didactic writings that entered into the formation of many a mind in that day? In *Gargantua*, Chapter XIV, we have a slighting reference to *Alanus in parabolis*, meaning the work of Alain de Lille, who, together with Alain Chartier, was so well known that the two are frequently confused in the inventories. It is clear that the fame of Chartier in this instance was based not on the *Belle Dame sans Mercy* but on such productions as the *Curial* and the *Quadrilogue Invectif*, especially the latter. This is so well represented among the bourgeoisie, that we have probably been unjustly ignoring its power as a source of ideas in the sixteenth century. Likewise exploited by the satirist are the Pseudo-Cato, known as the *Disticha Catonis*, and the *Donatus*. Apart from the many editions, we observe that the early bookseller Janot shows truly immense stocks, 300 *Disticha* and 750 *Donetz*. As is the case with the many "Miroirs" and "Doctrinals," these appear in the first half of the century, along with Matheolus' *De Lamentatione* and others. It will be recalled that Rabelais' first two books are early, 1532 and 1534 respectively. Janot's date is 1522.

Secondly, what of the rôle of the manual skills? It will be remembered that these formed a prominent part in the educational program and the hero had to go around and visit the shops of the artisans. Too often this feature is looked upon as an ideal, whereas it was a real part of current thinking. Unfortunately the present writer had gone through a large number of inventories before he became aware of the great quantity of works telling the reader how to do this or that. A good lady who owned only three books (not even listed separately) had, among her treasures, a Book of Hours, a *Lancelot*, and *L'art de faire confitures*. The number of such distinctly non-literary

titles is great enough to make it plain that Rabelais is echoing the concerns of many contemporaries.

The works in this category appealed to people in various walks of life. Falconry and other elaborate forms of hunting interested the noble. Among treatises on the subject are the *Roman des deduiz*, Fouilloux' *Venerie*, Phébus' *Des deduiz de la chasse* and *Modus et ratio*. The heraldic *blason* is very much alive, e.g., the *Blason des armes* and the *Blason des armoiries* (perhaps identical with the *Blason des couleurs*). In humbler strata, herb collecting and the preparation of simples are exemplified by the *Grand arbier* (Herbier), a Dioscorides, and a French version of the *De proprietatibus rerum*. Agriculture is represented by the *Maison rustique* of Charles Estienne and the *Livre des prouffictz champestres* of Pierre des Croissantz. (Rabelais, we remember, came of a landholding family). Architecture, one of the "grandes passions" of the Renaissance, comes up with Philibert de l'Orme and literally pages of "Livres de pourtraicture" that need looking into. The "Albert" of Inventory 22 may be the Martin translation of Alberti, *L'Architecture et art de bien bastir* (1553). Under such circumstances, do we have to go as far as we have been doing to look for sources of Rabelais' construction of the Abbaye de Thélème? Exploration, another mark of the century and one of Rabelais' great themes, evidently had its active practitioners and its avid readers. Of the manuals we noted are the *Grand routier de pillotage* and the *Routier de la mer*.

Medical libraries are numerous and often very extensive. The vernacular, as expected, does not figure much. In the inventories, single occurrences appear of the *Grand Guidon de Chirurgie* by Guy de Chauliac and the *Méthode* of Hervé Fierabras. Naturally the eminent Ambroise Paré is best known and best represented in the private libraries. In view of Rabelais' profession of medicine, it would be most significant to re-examine the inventories to see what medical books were being read during the lifetime of the "calloier des Isles Hyeres."

From the Middle Ages we have the *Sidrach*, the works of Oresme and of Marco Polo. Dioscorides was generally read in the version of Matheolus (usually garbled, in one case as *Mateoli sur la Discorde*). It has been said, and justly, that the French Renaissance was not distinguished by its scientific progress; this shows up in the inventories as well as in Rabelais. We must

not confuse technology, in which Rabelais was immersed, with originality of scientific thought. Rabelais possessed the former, not the latter, and our documents make it abundantly clear that he was far from alone in his times.⁶

Representing his period as well as he does in many of its most current preoccupations, it is not surprising that Rabelais was read and enjoyed, as indeed the private collections show. What is curious is the company he keeps on those shelves. On those of Hodic (109) *Gargantua* is actually bound with the *Apothegmes* of Erasmus and the *De officiis* of Cicero. For Maistre Cornet (56) of Amiens—far off in the Provinces—his companions are Ronsard, Boccaccio, and Pasquier; for Pierre Crocquoison (60), they are Martin du Bellay, Froissart, Machiavelli, and Petrarch, plus the less scholarly *Amadis* and the *Orlando Furioso*. There are at least two women among his readers, Marie Cousin (58) and Mlle Anne Baudry (16), who received from her father, Robert, among other works, Michel de l'Hôpital, Marot, Gaguin, Bèze, Boccaccio, Meigret, and not only the Fifth Book of Rabelais, which certainly existed in 1589, but also a completely absurd “sixiesme” which could have been due only to the somnolence of the notary’s clerk.

A peculiar situation arises in the inventory of a lady, Claude Mangon (137). A loose leaf, in the same hand as the rest of the document, has Rabelais’ name in the middle of a series of legal tomes, a fact not altogether devoid of interest. Should this list belong to the aforesaid lady, that makes one more female reader for Alcofribas—a reader, incidentally, whose appreciations are the more intriguing in that a near neighbor on her shelf is the book of Théodore de Bèze called the *Poemata*.

Rabelais died in 1553, and his productivity is therefore limited to the first half of the century. Yet his inventory dates are, with one exception, (1549), late in the period: 1561, 1567, 1571, 1578, 1580, 1583, 1584, 1587, 1594, 1598. There are two ways of interpreting the data. First, those who bought his books kept them. Secondly, and this is in reality a corollary of the first point, the nature of his production kept pace with the preoccupations of the particular group to which the vast majority of the people in the inventories belonged.

⁶ Allusions to calendars are not uncommon. The one called *Compost et calendrier des bergers*, described by Tilley (*Studies in the French Renaissance* p. 17), is an almanach, but as sometimes happens there, is loaded with moralizing, so that it is difficult to classify for our purposes. (See M. Bloomfield, *Seven Deadly Sins*, p. 430.)

To resume and conclude:

1) Rabelais' change from dependence on the epic and the romance to sources that concern themselves with social and political phenomena (see the chapter on Montaigne) parallels the shift in the taste of the bourgeoisie. This is especially borne out by the dated inventories.

2) His satire of the old textbooks in his setting up of the Renaissance program is a reaction to their wide popularity, attested to not merely by editions put out but by actual books bought.

3) Insistence on manual skills in that program is not a visionary ideal but a reflection of a desire fulfilled which affected the stratum of society he knew best. Unfortunately he and his contemporaries failed to see that technology and science did not invariably coincide.

4) Medical bibliography was highly developed, a fact that deserves more stress, but little of it was in the vernacular.

5) Rabelais' popularity was not only real, but the make-up of the libraries shows that he was taken very seriously.

I. Epics and Romances
Originating in the 12th and 13th Centuries
(The date 1561 in parenthesis refers to Galiot du Pré)

<i>Title</i>	<i>Dates of representative editions</i>	<i>Inventory date</i>
Alexandre	1506, 1530, 1584	1549-98
Apollin	s.d., 1480, 1530	1545
Aquin		(1561)
Berinus	1521	1534
Bueve d'Hantone	1500, 1532	1548
Chevalier au chisne	1504	1528
Chevaliers de la Table Ronde (?)		
Cleomades	1484, approx.	1518
Doolin de Maience	1501, 1530	(1561)
Fierabras	1478, 1499, etc.	1534 (1561)
Fleur des batailles (Cf. Doolin)		
Florence de Rome	1560	(1561)
Gallien le Restoré (or Rethoré)	1500, 1575, etc.	1534
Garin le Loherain		1540
Gennes (Roman de)		1547
Gerard (Girart) de Roussillon	1469	1528
Gerbert	1526	1533
Godef(f)roy de Bouillon	1504, 1523, 1580	1547 (1561)
Greal	1514-16	1551
Guillaume de Palerne	s.d., 1557	1540
Guy de Warewick	1525, 1550	1560

Huon de Bordeaux	1516 (etc.), 1586	1553, -65, -98
Lancelot	1488, 1533, 1591	1553
Merlin	1493, 1528	1547
Milles et Amys	n.d., 1503, 1560	1534
Ogier le Danoi(y)s	1513-1579	1534
Panterre d'Amour		1549
Perceval	1528-1532	1567
Quatre filz Aymon	1480-1590	1519-98
Tristan de Lyonnaise	1489 on	1567

Of the twenty-nine items, thirteen do not extend beyond 1540 and twenty-one do not extend beyond 1550.

II. Epics and Romances

Originating in the 14th and 15th Centuries

Arthus (Artus) de Bretagne	1493, 1514, 1556	1518
Aventures de Bruth		1553
Bauldoin (Bauldouyn) de Flandre	1478, 1504, etc.	1547
Belle Hélène	1586	1598
Bertrand (Berthrand) du Guesclin	1487	1549
Clamades	1484	(1522)
Cleriadus	1495, 1529	1528
Courogne		1503
Meliadus	1526	1584
Melusine	1478, 1598	1549, 1598
Olivier de Castille	1482, 1546	1598
Paris et Vienne	1500, 1596	(1522)
Perceforest	1522, 1532	1567
Vallantin et Orson	1489, etc. -1590	1589

Of the fourteen items, five are before 1540 and eight are before 1550.

III. Epics and Romances

Originating in the 16th Century

Bayard	1527	1547 (1561)
Chevalier Doré	1542 etc., 1570	(1561)
Fleur des batailles	1501, 1530	1598
Fleur des (h)istoires (?)	n.d.	n.d.
Florus de Grèce	1552, 1571	(1561)
Geste des Toulousains (Toulouzains)	1515, 1545	1547
Giglain	1520, 1539	(1561)
Girart d'Euphrate "	1549	1567
Giron le courtois	1503	1560
Guerin Meschin	1503, 1548	(1561)
Jehan de Paris	s.d. 1530	(1561)
Mabrian	1530, 1581	(1561)
Melliflue	1526	1565
Morgant	1525, 1536, etc.	1578
Orlando furioso	1544 (tr.) cf. Index	
Tresbizonde	1483	1547

C. THE "PLÉIADE" MOVEMENT

"La révolution de la Pléiade ressemble à toutes les révolutions: préparée par un mouvement secret des esprits, mûrie à l'étranger avant d'éclater en France, elle étonne par une apparente brusquerie, intimide par une arrogance spontanée et concertée à la fois; elle rencontre des résistances, des résistances vite lassées, des réticences muées, après les premiers succès, en ralliements. . . ." So say Bédier-Hazard.⁷ This is an admirable statement, full of meaning. If in the following discussion it is developed in a manner somewhat different from what the authors may have intended, its truth will be brought out, and its insight reaffirmed, in the light of the new materials.

This "brusquerie" with which the Pléiade appeared and the completeness of its conquest may well arouse our wonder. It is our first concern to investigate how it all came about and principally what was the status of lyric poetry in France at the time the movement came into being.

How much was inherited from the Middle Ages? Ronsard's link to the *Roman de la Rose* is clear not only from the editions, including that of Marot, but from the testimony of the inventories as well. There have been further attempts to establish connections with mediaeval traditions, such as the present writer's article on "Ronsard's 'Amours' XXXII and the Tradition of the Synthetic Lady."⁸ Unfortunately for that thesis, tempting as it is, there is apparently not an iota of clear proof that a major lyric poet, at least in the Pléiade group, had access to the trouvères or the troubadours. There were indeed aristocratic establishments like those of the Château de Gaillon (87), Anne de France (49), the Count of Angoulême (3), Anne de Graville (101), Louis de Bruges (38), and François I at Blois (85), and Fontainebleau (80), where it was possible to encounter the old and beautifully executed anthologies of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Whether the tradition of expensive illustration was the cause or not, no such manuscripts are found even in rich bourgeois estates, nor were they subsequently reproduced. Outside of noble circles there is no trace of Christine de Pisan, Machaut, or Deschamps. In the collection of G. de Hodic (109) there is an item called *Les ditz d'amour*,

⁷ *Histoire de la littérature française*, I, 237.

⁸ *Romance Philology*, I (1947-48), 125-35.

which might possibly be the *Dit d'amour* of Adan de la Hale, though it is extremely doubtful.

Of the later "fixed forms," many were printed. We are aware of Marot's liking for ballades and rondeaux but, strange as it may seem, they appear only infrequently in the inventories. From this source, at any rate, one cannot substantiate the impression given by the *Deffense* that ballades and rondeaux were on every side and that the public was drowned in them.

Villon must have been known to the group that surrounded Ronsard. There are not many inventory occurrences outside of Galiot du Pré, but the famous publisher carried a large stock of that author, 180 copies marked "François Villon en petit papier, lettre romaine des premiers" plus thirty-seven "corrigez par Marot." Cons, in his *Etat Présent* (page 28), remarks that Galiot himself published a collection of fifteenth-century poets in 1533, but that after 1542 editions stop for nearly two centuries. "Pourtant," he adds, "il est impossible que la génération de 1550—qui respectait Marot—n'ait pas gardé un coin de souvenir et d'intérêt pour le Villon de Clément." The Galiot statistics answer the question in part, even though there may be room to wonder whether that which is left on a bookseller's shelves is not dead wood. But the date at which we find the record of these items in Galiot, 1561, is not too far removed from the date of Marot's edition, 1533, a fact which militates partially against a categoric judgment on that score, and we must not lose sight of the fact that 217 copies of a single poet in a publisher's stock are not without significance in the estimation of his popularity. For that matter, even a rather weak imitator of Villon, Coquillard, is represented by 187 copies in the same stock, which may perhaps be an accessory factor in gauging the attitude towards Villon himself.

Marot, we have seen, was respected by the Pléiade, and in that they were not alone, for there are nineteen occurrences of his works in the inventories. Of these, ten are of the first half of the century, more or less, or at least before 1560. This is a somewhat larger proportion than Rabelais, whose survival in the later decades of the century seems to have been more vigorous.⁹

⁹ Where Marot does survive, the dates are late, 1580, 1584, 1598. The second of these is really a division of property during the lifetime of Mlle Baudry's father; hence the books must have been in the family for some time.

As late as 1573 on the shelves of Germain Chappoton, "avocat au Parlement," (48) we find Marot associated in an otherwise exclusively Latin collection with two very serious tomes, *Valerius Maximus* and *Commines*. That same estate has various "pacquets de vieux livres" which are frustrating for the bibliographer, and it is striking that Marot was one of those selected to escape anonymity. Likewise Odo Bedoue, "marchand et bourgeois de Paris," chooses him to share attention with the *Orloge des Princes*. Thus the *Pléiade*'s acceptance of the poet finds an echo outside the group.

A word of caution. A dramatic "Inventaire fait par les autorités au sujet de Robert de Montreal, seigneur de Muy les Puiseaulx, soupçonné de religion" (Inventory 143, dated 1567) records, along with Calvin's writings, the "Saumes de Clément Marot," though the latter are found elsewhere without reference to the religion of their owners. Nevertheless, may not a good deal of Marot's later survival be due to the Psalms? If this is true, and if Marot is considered by his contemporaries more as a man of the first half of the century, the *Pléiade*'s respect for him must have been tempered by the feeling that he was, in spirit, an "elder statesman" rather than a "contemporary."

It will occasion no surprise that the new literary ideas of the mid-century had to cope for a time with the "noble rhétorique" of the first half. Nor will the inventories offer much that is new except in two respects: the varying popularity of different works of the same school and the fact that, if mediaeval taste extended right up to the threshold of the Ronsardian school, its potency could not extend beyond that point. The public, as far as our documents reveal, has no further interest after the sixties, and even the last decade shows little vigor.

To take a few specific examples, Meschinot's complete works are found but once (44), while his *Lunette des princes* is found six times. The latest inventory date, 1549, marks it as a mere ghost, because the latest of twenty-three editions is ten years earlier. The various *Temples* and *Châteaux* (See Index), endlessly allegoric, are all either of the preceding century or early in the sixteenth. Jean Bouchet, if one may make a pun in the manner of the time, achieves a veritable triumph: *Le Triomphe de la noble dame* with its six appearances including the library of François I. Its inventory dates are 1519 to 1567, this terminus ad quem being quite late. The *Jardin de Plaisance* is known,

with its none too choice "Fleurs," but it is the "Blason" mania which attains considerable proportions as far as the bourgeois are concerned, and Ronsard among others deigned to use it, behind a Greek window dressing as in Sonnet XXXII.

Cretin and the elder Marot¹⁰ were not ignored, but Lemaire's *Illustration des Gaules* is the acknowledged source of the *Fran-ciade*,—of which more later.

The total impact of Petrarch and his disciples is too well-known and too solidly established to need discussion here. Yet the inventories do add significant details as to the diversification of this influence according to the period involved and according to the individual character of each type of writing. In other words, these documents point to the necessity of essential distinctions which have not always been made and which should be made.

We are handicapped by the all too frequent inadequacy of information. The mere mention of "Pétrarque" alone or of "Opera Petrarque" (113), without further detail, often suffices for the bibliographic needs of the appraiser's clerk, but such meager entries mean that considerable caution is required in forming conclusions. Certain titles, on the other hand, seem with regularity to be mentioned specifically, such as the *Remèdes de fortune* and the *Triunfi*. These two constitute a precious barometer of the Petrarchian climate in sixteenth-century France.

From the six occurrences in private collections and the five more in royal or noble houses, we may judge that the *Remèdes* enjoyed a certain favor. The spread in date is wide, from 1540 to 1581, proof of an abiding interest in moralistic literature on the part of the intellectual bourgeoisie. As to the *Triunfi*, ten out of twenty-one occurrences are to be localized in the first half of the century, a period which has hardly emerged from the Middle Ages, as we shall have occasion to observe more than once.

The *Canzoniere* must have been the greatest source of influence on such a group as the Pléiade. If we think of the rather neat chronology: Petrarch > School of Lyons > Pléiade, it is not without surprise that we note (even though we must estimate from twenty-six "collected works") how many *Canzon-*

¹⁰ Since first names are often not given, it is hard to tell which of the two Marots may be referred to. This renders accuracy difficult.

iere there were) that fully three-fourths of the occurrences of this title belong to the second half of the century, i.e. after the advent of the great reform in lyric poetry made by Ronsard and Du Bellay.

This does not exclude a marked and early impact on a closed circle of poets, those to whom Bédier-Hazard were referring in the passage at the beginning of this section when they stated that the reform was "préparée par un mouvement secret des esprits." Perhaps further documentation in basic research will change the outlook, but for the moment it seems dangerous to assume that all this was in the air and that the Petrarchist atmosphere pervaded the larger public. While one recognizes the perils of an "argumentum ex silentio," this is one case—and there are others—where large segments of the public, even of the intellectual public, did not participate in movements we consider characteristic of the Renaissance until those movements were well under way.

It is easy to say that the estates we have been examining are those of a limited class, lawyers and their auxiliaries, middle and upper bourgeois with a non-lyric, even anti-lyric, bias. Perhaps such ideas did prevail for a time, but we shall see that in the long run this same class showed great perceptiveness in its judgment of lyric poetry and even of the products of the very Pléiade that may have educated them. How did this change come about?

We ordinarily think of the School of Lyons as furnishing the transition stage and preparing for what was to come, but the notarial documents do not provide evidence for this theory. Louise Labbé is recorded in Galiot's stock alone. Ponthus de Thyard fares better, but we note that he is late and on the heels of the Pléiade.¹¹ Two of the titles are a *Homélie* and a *Discours*, scarcely lyric. The *Parfaicte Amye* of Héroët is only in Galiot, but that presents a problem, because the Bibliothèque Nationale catalogue records no less than twenty editions between 1543 and 1568 while Galiot shows fifty-five copies. Or shall we agree with Du Bellay, who spoke feelingly of the difficulty of getting a response for lyric poetry, despite all the printers' efforts?

Aux choses de profit, ou celles qui font rire,
Les grands ont aujourd'hui les oreilles de cire:

¹¹ Whether Cabat (42) has the *Erreurs amoureuses* cannot be explicitly stated, since only *Œuvres* are listed, but probability favors the affirmative.

Mais ilz les ont de fer, pour escouter les vers.

(*Regrets*, CLIV)

Perhaps this is the reason for the discrepancy, rare as it is, between the large number of editions and the comparative rarity of inventory data.

It was Thomas Sebillet, "avocat au Parlement de Paris" and a member of the social stratum that produced the vast majority of our inventories, who wrote the *Art Poétique François*. His work shocked the students of Dorat into a bellicose reply, the *Deffense et Illustration de la Langue Françoise* of 1549. This has always been looked upon as the initiatory act of the Pléiade; it is therefore surprising that we find but one specific mention of the title in the inventories, even though it may have been included in the *Oeuvres*. Galiot's stock does not have a single separate "plaquette," as it does of the *Art poétique* of Sebillet. The latter, incidentally, is shown twice in the inventories (190, 212), once bound with the *Quintil Horatian*. The controversy over the Pléiade manifesto attracted a great deal of interest, and we are at a loss to explain the inconspicuousness of the *Deffense* as a separate item in the inventories, all the more so since its well-established source, Sperone, turns up four times between 1555 and 1591. How long the latter had been in circulation it is difficult to tell. There had been a translation in 1551, but the clear indication of the title in Italian indicates that there may not have been an urgent call for the Gruget version.

Whatever the case for the theorists, the success of the first published verse of the Pléiade was immediate. There are distinctions to be made in this respect, however, between Ronsard and Du Bellay, to say nothing of the rest. With Ronsard, the interval between the publication of a work and its appearance on someone's library shelf seems to have been very short, as we see in the following table, which gives the principal dates of Ronsard's editions, followed by the dates of inventories where the titles occur.

<i>Odes</i> , 1550, 1552	1557, 1561, 1564, 1578
<i>Amours</i> , 1552	1553, 1565
<i>Hymnes</i> , 1555	1569, 1581
First collected edition, 1560	1560, 1561, 1578 (-79)
Second and third collected editions, 1567-71	1581
Others to 1584	1597

Our Index likewise demonstrates that Ronsard was widely

appreciated, not merely among the bourgeoisie but also in princely collections like those of Marguerite de Valois and Anne de France. His readers were often people of fame—Grolier; his fellow poet, Belleau; Nicolas d'Herberay des Essarts; Claude Chappuis; Pierre Duhamel, the “lecteur du roi”; Anne Hurault, wife of François de Carvenonoy (garbled into Carnavalet). Even the much-maligned *Franciade* was found among the possessions of Belleau and Modius, the latter in 1597. It may have also been part of collected editions mentioned in the lists of Chappuis (d.1575) and Nicolas Luillier (1587), but there is no proof that it was prized.

Another, and not negligible, criterion is what one might call the company kept by the works of Ronsard. It is certain that wherever his poems appear there are other items of interest to share attention, usually contemporary or the kind that would go with works of the Pléiade, like the *Philosophie d'Amour* of Léon Hébreu, the Platonist, or like Ficino, who appears as “Ung Marcille Ficin sur l'amour de Platon” (184). What is even more usual is the fact that the readers of Ronsard often had an interest in other members of the Pléiade. Thus P. Claverie (52) reads Baïf, and Modius collects Desportes, Jodelle, Garnier, and Larivey—not all members of the inner circle but good literature none the less. The small list of Labas (117), which has Ronsard, also has Bodin and Montaigne. In a different vein, it is not without piquancy to observe the “Quatre livres des odes de Ronsard” paired with Lemaire’s *Illustration des Gaules*.

The latter is a subject of no little weight because of its connection with the *Franciade*. That this attempt at an epic was a failure is evident from the inventories, where it scarcely appears, and the manuals are quite right in saying that success was denied this pet ambition of the Pléiade. To say, on the other hand, that it failed because of its recondite subject, which Ronsard took from Jean Lemaire’s book, will simply not hold water. How highly regarded that book was, and certainly how well known, we can see from the twenty-three occurrences in the Index and the 238 copies of Galiot recorded there. This represents one of the most popular titles in our entire list. What is even more curious is that the concentration of editions is mostly in the latter, not the earlier, part of the century, as we might have expected. Thus, at the period of Ronsard’s writing,

the *Illustration* had already circulated widely. Our poet obviously did not live so far apart from the literary market that he did not sense its reactions. In this respect he resembled Rabelais and, we shall see, Montaigne. The upshot is that, if the *Françiaide*'s failure can be assigned to a specific source, we must look elsewhere than Jean Lemaire, as far as our present evidence is concerned.

Here we observe an isolated but intriguing detail. Ronsard's career had hard sledding at first because of Mellin de Saint-Gelais, but he got his revenge early, for in all our inventories there is not an entry of Mellin's poems, except for a Valois library (80) which was not of the bourgeois type. This is all the more curious since minor figures attached to the Pléiade do survive, Jamyn (83) and Belleau and Scévole de Sainte-Marthe (several entries).

In Montaigne's opinion Ronsard and Du Bellay were equal in importance. Today we usually think of them in much the same terms, but our present sources bring out sharp differences. Editions of Ronsard number twenty, as against seven of Du Bellay; the same proportions are apparent in the inventories, some twenty-three occurrences to about eight. Ronsard is thus the more popular by far. We have also seen that the lag between his publication dates and the entries in the inventories is small. The contrary is true for Du Bellay. There is one entry of 1558 (212) and there are two copies in Galiot, 1561, but most occurrences are much later, 1578, 1581, 1583, 1586, 1587, 1591, and 1597. Did it take so long for him to "register"? One might surmise that Du Bellay's failure to be cited more often is due to the fact that his work was issued in small "plaquettes," easily lost. But this theory cannot be supported. The fact that the format was common to poets at the time militates against the argument. Besides, there are many allusions to *Œuvres*, which means less likelihood of small volumes. For some unaccountable reason there are not a number of great names among the readers of Du Bellay, as there were of Ronsard. But there is a similarity in that those who were interested in Du Bellay usually were also interested in other members of the Pléiade, and had them in their libraries.

We note here that Du Bellay's entries in the inventories are four less than those of Desportes, who in turn is eight ahead of Du Bartas. The figures relative to Desportes are to be con-

sidered with an obvious corrective in mind. Despite what has been said about the habit of bulking vernacular books into "pacquets" instead of respectably giving them titles, private libraries were larger and became better catalogued as the century advanced, so that good books had a better chance of being acquired and carefully appraised. With the advent of the Pléiade, too, lyric poetry began to assume a better status and to appear in collections with greater frequency. That is true not merely for French but all other languages involved.

Even such a poet at Du Bartas, late as he was, enjoyed success. Our documents confirm the fact that he was read by Catholics and Protestants alike, by royal personages such as Marguerite de Valois (135b), and by humbler folk; Justinien Pavé, "conseiller de la ville de Lyon" (161), pairs him with Luís de Granada's *De la oration (sic)* in Spanish. One could not wish for greater eclecticism. On the other hand, D'Aubigné is not mentioned once, which is puzzling.¹²

A word should be said about some of the less famous poets of the group. Baïf and Jodelle enjoyed some public favor. The "Poemes de Jacques Tahureau du Mans, ung petit livre"—all we have of a poet who died young—show up four times, in one case (168) in the illustrious company of Dante, Petrarch, Castiglione, and Boscán. Pelletier's fortunes are curious because there are 202 copies left over in the stock of Galiot just five years after the publication of his first work, 1555.

What conclusions of general importance about the Pléiade movement can we reach from the available evidence?

- 1) No lyric tradition to speak of was left over from the Middle Ages to offer any competition to a new and vital movement like the Pléiade.
- 2) Marot was respected, but was no longer vital.
- 3) The Rhétoriqueur school was dead. Indeed, its influence has clearly been overestimated. The *Deffense* may have set up a "straw man" for the purpose of knocking it down, because it exaggerated the prevalence of the fixed forms.
- 4) The School of Lyons hardly prepared the public mind

¹² Du Bartas' circulation (seven occurrences) was evidently not hurt by his appearance in "plaquettes," for special mention is made of the *Première Sepmaine* (174), the *Seconde Sepmaine* (161), and *Judith* (140). These are not very large works.

for the advent of the *Pléiade*. There was influence, but it operated through personal channels.

5) The preceding points mean that the *Pléiade* stepped into a virtual vacuum as far as lyric poetry was concerned.

6) The impact of the *Deffense* can be exaggerated.

7) The *Pléiade*'s success was great, but not uniform. The bourgeoisie, at any rate, preferred the nationalistic elements over the completely Italianate.

8) The failure of the *Franciade* is due to causes other than the choice of subject.

9) The *Pléiade*'s effect in helping to establish public taste in France can scarcely be overestimated.

D. MONTAIGNE

“Comme tout homme de la Renaissance, en effet, Montaigne doit beaucoup aux livres.”¹³ That many of these “livres” recur in our lists is no occasion for surprise. In fact, it is quite extraordinary to see how well the taste of this individualist is in tune with that of his contemporaries. For purposes of clarity a sort of chronological approach will be used in this analysis, taking up in the order mentioned ancient sources, mediaeval French, and various contemporaries (Italians, Spanish, and French).

The Latin and Greek elements must necessarily appear in reduced proportions since only the vernacular is included, because translations alone will meet the requirement. Some of these were produced at an early date. Aristotle's *Economics* and *Politics*, for instance, which had been done into French by Oresme much earlier, occur in the inventories (p.67). So does Philo (p.190), though not in large numbers. Plato (p.192), Plutarch (p.198), and Valerius Maximus (p.233) are exceedingly popular. As for Josephus (p.153), occurrences are so numerous that one is tempted to state he has been underestimated by source hunters. Yet Villey cannot prove that the *Guerre des Juifz*, for all its early appearance in print (Verard, 1492) was in any way responsible for citations in the *Essais*, despite the fact that inventory dates of Josephus are largely

¹³ P. Villey, *Les sources et l'évolution des Essais de Montaigne* (Paris, 1908). Throughout this chapter the page numbers in parenthesis refer to this book. Numbers without pagination refer, as usual, to the inventories.

grouped in the last third of the century, precisely at the time when they would exercise a maximum influence upon Montaigne's thought.

The Renaissance was history-minded, and no one more so than Montaigne. Many of the ancient and mediaeval sources fall into that category, most especially the "four greats" of French historiography, Commines, Froissart, Monstrellet, and Villehardouin. These are more than chroniclers of facts; they are rather commentators devoted not merely to the events they narrate but also, and perhaps even more, to the moral that may be derived. This trait had a special appeal to the French middle class and it is a point of difference between the Renaissance in France and in Italy. That may be why these four authors appear in the inventories in numbers equalled by no other category of subject matter with the exception of Villehardouin, who was not published until 1585,¹⁴ and then through the efforts of Blaise de Vigenère.

Montaigne cultivated the Italians to the point that part of his *Journal* is in that language. Villey lists the following authors as influential: Ariosto (p.67), Boccaccio (p.80), Castiglione (p.95), Dante (p.112), Guazzo (p.138), Guicciardini (p.143), Machiavelli (p.172), Petrarch (p.189).

Ariosto is known to have been consulted in the original. The *Orlando Furioso* has eighteen entries, one library carrying two copies (French and Italian), and there even occurs a copy in Spanish. The French translation dates from 1544 and its recurrence in inventories spreads from 1549 to 1591. In the case of the *Orlando Innamorato* there is also a collection (177) where there are two copies, one French and one Italian. To appraise the popularity of Boccaccio is clearly outside the scope of this chapter. Even a systematic breakdown of the sixty-eight occurrences is well-nigh impossible with only the scanty bibliographic data of the inventories. This is the largest number of entries for any one author. The *Decameron* alone has twenty-seven entries exclusive of princely collectors and Galiot's imposing 107 copies. The dates spread from 1519 to the end of the century. Villey ascribes to it a high position among the sources of Montaigne, along with the *De casibus* and *De claris*

¹⁴ Vincent de Beauvais, with eleven entries, is still not given as a source of Montaigne, despite his habit of reading "en moraliste, des ouvrages de tout genre." (See Villey, p. 279).

mulieribus. These two titles, printed early (1494 and 1484 respectively),¹⁵ enjoyed the favor of the public through several decades. In this connection we note that a certain Jean Hovard (111) owns not only "Boccace des nobles malheureux" but also "Le temple de Jehan Bricasse," the latter referring to G. Chastellain, *Le temple de Jehan Bocace, de la ruyne d'aulcuns nobles malheureux*, published in 1517. It is rather improbable that this particular version was used in the *Essais*. Apparently the *Genealogia Deorum* has no place in a study of Montaigne's sources, despite its ten occurrences in the inventories, all of them in the latter half of the century and therefore likely to coincide with Montaigne's own dates. That Villey should give a prominent place to Castiglione (p.95) may be taken for granted, as in the case of Rabelais. The vogue of the *Cortegiano* is such that it is read by a "marchand hostelain" (82). Guazzo's *Civil conversazione*, which was also drawn upon by Montaigne, did not enjoy nearly the success of Castiglione as far as the reading public was concerned. Villey is uncertain (p.112) whether the *Essais* are directly indebted to the *Divine Comedy*. Certainly our documentary data would argue in favor of the possibility. With Machiavelli, in any event (p.172), influence is clearly discernible, not so much in the case of the *Principe* as the *Discorsi*. This conclusion is borne out by the two occurrences of the former in the inventories as against five for the latter. Lastly among the Italians we should recall Leon Ebreo (p.248). Here there are enough entries to demonstrate the comparative familiarity of the work at this period, not only to the milieu surrounding the *Essais* but to the entire cohort of Platonists.

If Italy occupies an undisputed place in the Renaissance, Spain's position is far more difficult to evaluate, and rare is the chapter in the manuals devoted to it. Two factors complicate the issue. One is the appearance of many a Spanish work in Italian garb, as happened with the *Celestina*; the other is the apparent inability of notaries' clerks to distinguish between one language and the next, as happens with a *Fiameta* grant listed under "Livres en espanoil" (177). The book market in the trade existing between those two countries is in need of thorough scrutiny.

If we draw up a list of Spanish publications which appear in

¹⁵ The first is a Verard production. For the second, see Claudin, I, 122.

our inventories, we find assembled there the very cream of sixteenth-century works in that language. This is worth particular emphasis because Villey states that Montaigne read little or no Spanish (p.272). Now we know that a good deal of Spanish material was available to him in one form or another, and he may not have had to depend on his father to introduce him to Spanish works, as Villey implies, when so many of these books were in the public domain. As usual, it is the moralists who take first place, especially the *Relox de los principes*, also called *Marco Aurelio*, of Antonio de Guevara. If Montaigne's father introduced him to that book, he was but one of a large number of readers. Already in 1559 it had been translated by Bertrand de Grise, and it later proved sufficiently attractive to be taken in hand and adapted by D'Herberay des Essarts, who did so many others. He owned a copy of Mexia's *Silva de Varialexicon*, the only one in these inventories, although the work was admittedly popular at the time.¹⁶ By the same token we would expect to find more than one mention of Vives, in addition to the thirty-four copies of this influential writer in Galiot. He is one of Montaigne's sources while Nebrija, more often recorded, is not. We might expect some influence on the part of the Spanish mystics, but none seems to be discernible, although they were obviously known and fairly well appreciated in France, as documentary evidence proves. The reason may lie in the fact that poetry does not translate well, but this does not apply to the *Meditaciones*, the *Memorial*, the *Compendios*, or the *Prédications* (French translation of the *Trece Sermones*?). Fray Luís de León's strictly ecclesiastical writings were well received.¹⁷ To this general classification belongs, in a sense, the famous *Theologia naturalis* of R. Sebond. There is danger of romanticizing the account whereby "de fortune," Pierre Eyquem found the book in a pile of "papiers abandonnés" and rescued it from oblivion by recommending it for translation by his son. (The transmission thus would have been personal, like that of Tiraqueau on Rabelais. We have seen that, on the other hand, the latter was aware of a current interest in the *De legibus* and took advantage of it.) The *Theologia* seems to have appeared

¹⁶ This would seem to be, from other evidence, the kind of work a translator would possess.

¹⁷ The success of Boscán also is striking and can only indicate that there were a number who could read him in the original.

six times in the inventories; according to Grente there were a number of editions dating from 1487, plus Galiot's twenty-two copies. There had even been a translation by Jean Martin as early as 1519 although Mlle Lehoux (see Bibliography) remarks that this rendition "n'avait obtenu qu'un succès très relatif." These figures are enough to suggest that we are by no means dealing with a rarity brought to light by a fortuitous circumstance. The book enjoyed a certain circulation and furthermore belonged to a category of literature which attracted interest. Like Rabelais, Montaigne knew what was being read in his milieu and acted accordingly.

Let us turn now to Montaigne's contemporaries and compatriots, and principally to what was so characteristically great in that century, lyric poetry. The greatest of its practitioners, Ronsard and Du Bellay, were admired by Montaigne, but he evidently did not respond to some of the lesser men who also enjoyed a public favor which was well deserved. Tahureau, who appears in the inventories four times—once specifically with the title *Les poemes de Jacques Tahureau*, "ung petit livre," is cited by Villey (p.227) as a possible but perhaps doubtful source, and even then it is rather a series of *Dialogues* which is chiefly in question. Baïf, who appears in the inventories twice, is put down (p.75) as an uncertain quantity, though in this instance we have only small evidence of his popularity. Much the same holds for Ponthus, of whom we have spoken previously. A personage like Pelletier is not even suggested as a source, and it is true that he appears only once in a private library, but one cannot ignore the 202 copies of his works listed for Galiot in 1561, just five years after publication. It would seem that Montaigne had no overwhelming enthusiasm for lyric poetry.

With political writers it was entirely different. There is an imposing list presented by Villey: Bodin (p.81), G. Bouchet (p.86), Du Haillant (p.122), Du Tillet (p.122), Hotman (p.150), La Noue (p.157). These authors are all in the inventories, though not in large numbers, probably because their works appeared late in the century. Bodin is an exception. He appears in the inventories much more often, but we must remember that besides his political writings, he was also the author of a *Demonomanie des sorciers*.

What conclusions can we make concerning Montaigne?

1. Within certain limits, clearly defined, there is a large measure of coincidence with the taste of his time.
2. The moralistic bent is as much that of a certain milieu (legal bourgeoisie and "noblesse de robe") as it is personal. The attitude toward lyric poetry is a case in point, one among several.
3. Public favor of the Italian writers spreads over a broader area than does the receptivity of Montaigne, despite his acquaintance with that literature.
4. His ignorance of Spanish shows up in sharper differences between the data provided by the inventories and that of Villey. Certain popular books (*Celestina*, mystics) find no echo in the *Essais*; other, less known, works (*Mexia*) are important sources.
5. Montaigne's use of Sebond's treatise is not fortuitous but is based on his recognition of its prominence.

II. INDEX OF BOOKS IN THE NOTARIAL INVENTORIES

IN the main this index is by titles, in the form recorded by the inventories, followed by the names of authors whenever known or supposed, plus data concerning editions where such information is of importance. The number of occurrences in the inventories is given at the end of each entry.

A

Abus du monde. Gringore. Two occurrences in Hodic, but the work dates at least from 1509 (Tchemerzine).

Abusez en court (Les). Brunet suggests René d'Anjou, but Doutrepont is not sure of the author, at one point noting the attribution to a certain Charles de Rochefort (p.640) but preferring to state that the author is "inconnu." Claudin has two possibilities, René de Provence or Charles de Rochefort (III, 283). As to date, Baudrier (III, 103; XI, 44) says "ca. 1500," but Claudin (*loc. cit.*) goes farther back, to 1484. Four occurrences, three in princely libraries (François I, Moulin, and Bruges) and only one in Gilbert de Hodic (109), in 1549.

Actes des apôtres. Greban brothers. See R. Lebègue, *Le mystère des Actes des Apôtres*, Paris, 1929; Champion, *Hist. poét. 15^e s.*, 133-88; Groeber, 225. Notation "par personnages" proves it is the play that is involved in Inv. 19, while 215 has no such comment. Two occurrences, neither princely.

Adages de mère sotte. Author? Of the two private collections, (109), the latter has *Vatables et adages de la mère sotte*. Both dates 1549. Its presence in Galiot's stock proves durability.

Affections d'amour. J. Fournier. Grente gives title as *Les affections de divers amans*, disagreeing with Barbier, *Dict. des anonymes*, but the date in both is 1555. One occurrence, Galiot.

Alain. Frequently confused are Alain de Lille and Alain Chartier. Thus we find the *Parabolles d'Alain Chartier* in two cases (3 and 109), but merely *Parabolles de Maistre Alain* (181, 171). The *Quadrilogue* will be discussed under Chartier. In any event, the *Parabolles* of the older Alain were printed early, Macfarlane citing a Verard ed. of 1492.

Albert le Grand. Possibly the *De secretis mulierum et viorum*, of about 1491-93 translated as *Les admirables secrets du grand Albert*, n.d. See Nisard, *Hist. des livres pop.*, Paris, 1854, I, 193. Two occurrences (42, 109). But see Brunet, *Litt.* t.6: *Des secretz des vertus des herbes, des pierres, bestes et aultre livre des merveilles*.

Alecis (Guillaume). Tchemerzine claims that the *Grand Blason des Faulces Amours* dates from 1486 (Levet), but Cladin, I, p. 416, gives 1489. In view of the researches of Holbrook and Cons on the possible author of the *Pathelin*, it is significant that in one instance (96) the *Blason* and the *Pathelin* are bound together. Four occurrences (70, 96, 1004, 219).

Alexandre. Author? It appears early on the scene with a Lyon ed. (Arnouillet), n.d. but earlier than the Paris ed. of 1506. It may be a translation of the *Historia de Proeliis* (P. Meyer, *Alexandre le grand*, II, p.34). Five occurrences (4, 42, 47, 106, 109), of which two are in libraries of nobility (4, 47), perhaps in manuscript.

Allumettes du feu divin (Les). Pierre Doré, a Dominican. There are two different titles: *Les a...., avec les voyes de Paradis*, 1538, located in the British Museum; *Allumettes du Feu Divin pour faire ardre les coeurs humaines en l'amour et crainte de Dieu*, n.d. The interest of this entry is that it represents a type of devotional literature which was current in the bourgeoisie and the titles of which elicited the sallies of Rabelais. Three occurrences, one of which consists of 200 copies in the stock of Carcan (44), plus (109, 147). In this connection, cf. Baudrier, III, 80, for the Lyon editions alone.

Amadis des Gaulles. Of the authorship we shall know more when the edition of E. B. Place is published. The translator or adaptor will be treated separately since we have the inventory of d'Herberay des Essarts. For the same reason the complexities of the editions. Inventory occurrences of one or more books are 13, 28, 34, 46, 60, 78, 107, 113, 126, 130, 140, 160, 164, 177, 186, 197, besides four different entries in Galiot. The last of these is under "livres du capitaine Poullain." Several noble collections are included. One occurrence of the *Amadis de Graesse* (107).

Amadys Jamyn. The BN ed. of his works is dated 1575. Two occurrences of his *Euvres* (83 and the Belleau estate).

Amants fortunés (Histoire des). Reynier, pp. 136, 365: . . . "avant que Pierre Boaistuau fît imprimer sous le titre d'*Histoire des amants fortunés* la première édition de l'*Heptaméron*. . . ." Ed. 1558. Two occurrences, (56, 201).

Amant verd (L'). J. Lemaire de Belges. Ed. 1512 (Tchemerzine). The fact that there is but one occurrence, and that in Galiot, does not mean as much as we might think, because

this poem was often published with other works of the same author.

Ameto. Boccaccio. Galiot only.

Aminta. Tasso. Two occurrences, Galiot and 42; that is to say, both booksellers.

Amour d'Hipolite. 46.

Amour de Malte. 42.

Amours de Marthe. 42. The first two have not been identified. The third, written in the plural, seems to correspond more closely to *Les chastes amours d'Hélène de Marthe*, 1597. Is this the same as the preceding? It would be quite in line with the garbling to which the titles were subjected. One occurrence (42).

Amours d'Ismenées. Eumathius, transl. by J. d'Avost under title *Les amours d'Ismène et de la chaste Imine*, 1582. The vogue of these recently published novelistic types must have been still considerable when they reached the bookstore of Cabat (42), where they showed up in 1598.

Amours pastours daffin de cloué, meaning *Les amours pastorales de Daphnis et Chloé* of Amyot (1559, et sq.). One occurrence (130).

Amye de Court (L'). La Borderie. Paris, Janot, 1542, important in the *Querelle des femmes*. One occurrence (109).

Amye des amyes (L'). F. B. de la Tour, 1558. Galiot only.

Angelica inamorata. Must be connected with the Orlando series, of which an Angelica is the heroine. It is found in the same inventory as the *Orlando furioso* and the *Innamorato* (178). One occurrence, 1578.

Annales, d'Anjou, d'Aquitaine, de France, so frequent as to defy counting. See *Bull. du Bibliophile*, 1893, p. 122.

Aquin. This occurs in a detail of a "pacquet" in Galiot. It is curious that Doutrepont does not record a prosification (p. 30, where the epic is mentioned).

Arbre des batailles. Honoré Bonnot, according to Groeber, p. 271, while Brunet has it Honoré de Bonnor. He records a first ed. of about 1480, which Cladin (III, 44, 187) places it specifically at 1481. There were about six editions, according to Brunet, of which one 1493 (Cladin, I, 273). Five occurrences (3, 4, 50, 102, 179).

Architecture et l'art de bien bastir d'Albert, by which is meant Leon Baptista Alberti's famous work, translated by Jean

Martin. Grente gives the publication date as 1553, by R. Masselin for Jacques Kerver. The BN has an undated copy published by F. Juste, also in translation. Only one occurrence and that one late, ca. 1595 (22).

Aretin. *Plusieurs comédies de l'*. Probable reference to the Italian text of 1542. One occurrence (142).

Ariosto. This is the only indication to be found in Galiot. Individual works will be listed under titles.

Aristote. The *Politiques* alone occur in Inventory 71; the *Logicque*, *Fisicque*, *Politiques*, *Ethicques* likewise in a Bordeaux inventory (145). Editions were not infrequent in the sixteenth century, and as early as 1486 according to Claudin II, 421.

Arnauld de Villeneuve. It is hard to say whether this is a translation, since no title is given. There were vernacular translations, e.g., the *Regimen sanitatis en françois*, Lyon, 1501, 1514, etc. One occurrence (137).

Art poétique françois. Sebillot. Three occurrences (212 and 190, Galiot). Editions being found as early as 1551, 1556, the respective dates of the inventories, 1558, 1561 might well refer to these editions. It is worth noting that the work is bound with the *Quintil Horatian* in Inv. 190.

Art et science de réthorique. Molinet. Published by Verard in 1493, this never found currency in bourgeois libraries, being only in the royal collection of Blois (85).

Artus de Bretagne. It is said to have been popular, but the only published entry is that for the bookseller Ricouart (2 copies) in 1519 (189). For the date of printing, 1514, see Besch, Index, who goes back, however, to 1493. Two MS copies, probably 41 and perhaps 85.

Audic le Troyen. A mystery so far. Galiot only.

Aurore (une). Probably the *Aurore grammaticale*, 1480. One occurrence, 1519 (153).

Avicenna, "un petit volume intitulé." Hard to tell whether this is in Latin. The Bibliothèque Nationale has many translations. One occurrence (93).

Azolains. See Bembo.

B

Babilon de l'esclave fortuné. Michel d'Amboise. Lyon, 1535. Three occurrences, (113) and (109, twice).

Baïf. Bibliographic occurrences are not lacking in the manuals for the poets of the Pléiade and therefore need not be re-

peated here. Listed in the inventories are both the *Comédies* and the *Mimes* (52) of J. Antoine, his *Amours* (212 and Belleau), *Euvres* (Belleau). One instance of Lazare de Baïf's works is in Inv. 36.

Balivernes (Les). Refers to the *Baliverneries d'Eutrapel*, which form the supplement to the *Propos rustiques* of Noël du Fail. See also Du Verdier, p. 135. One occurrence (109).

Batailles (Livre des). Two occurrences (122, 148).

Bauldouyn, comte de Flandres. Early editions are Chambéry, 1478 (Claudin, I, 202) Lyon, 1491, 1509 (Baudrier, XII, 447). Four occurrences: (113, 114, 194, 207). The second is in the stock of the bookseller Janot.

Bayard. There are various forms of the title, *Le roman de B.*, *Gestes de B.* Besch mentions a "Très-joyeuse plaisante et récréative histoire composée par le Loyal Serviteur des faits gestes . . . de Bayart, 1527" (pp. 165-66); the BN cites a similar work, except that instead of "de Bayart," the title reads "du bon chevalier sans peur et sans reproche, le gentil seigneur de Bayart," but this may be the identical work simply shortened by Besch. Brunet queries whether Champier may not have had something to do with it. There is some question as to Grente's possibility of a 1524 edition. According to the latter, Champier was a cousin of Bayart, and the redaction he made had nothing direct to do with the Loyal Serviteur. It was a popular book and there are many occurrences (2, 96, 109, 113, 147, plus two entries under Galiot).

Belle Hélène. Prosification by J. Wauquelin in two editions, Paris, n.d. and 1586. According to Grente the name is spelled "Hélaine" and the qualifier "de Constantinople" is added. One occurrence (42), not surprising in view of the late date.

Belleau, Remi. The fact that there is only one occurrence is odd. There is an edition of 1565 (Gilles Gilles), and also a collective posthumous one of 1578, which might be that in the single occurrence (187) of 1589.

Bellon des oyseaux, plus a book on *Poissons* in the Belleau library. The former is dated 1555, with subsequent editions under varied titles; there are several entries in Galiot besides one in a private collection (174). Galiot's entry, *Observations de Belon*, refers to *Les observations de plusieurs singularitez . . . 1553 sq.* Evidently he was popular.

Bembo. Most common are the *Azolains (Gli Asolani)*, of

which there are a number of occurrences (45, 102, 134, 177), plus two entries in Galiot. In one case the latter records 151 copies of the work named, plus one entry where the author, but not the work, is named. Inv. 13 gives the *Rimes* and 51 has one occurrence of the *Prose*. Our documents containing one or more works by this influential poet are in no case older than 1556, which means that the Jean Martin translation of 1545 (Tchemerzine) could have been accessible to them all. There were of course editions of Bembo published in France, for which see Baudrier, VIII, 66; IX, 199; Reynier, p. 207.

Berger fidelle, i.e., the *Pastor Fido* of Guarino, 1590. One occurrence (42), which is 1598, possibly the original.

Bergerie de Juliette. There seems to be a difference of opinion as to authorship. Inv. 146 has "Le premier libvre des bergeries de Juliette par Ollivier du Mont," while 42 gives no author, but Grente claims Nicolas de Montreux (q.v.). For the various editions see Reynier, pp. 368-69.

Bergerie de René de Bellevue, by which we are to understand Remi Belleau. Two editions, 1565 and (enlarged) 1572, and as many occurrences (42, 60), though for the latter one has merely "3° et 4° de la Bergerie."

Berinus, Histoire de. Ed. Janot, 1521, supposedly a revamping "de langaige incongneu," but Tilley (*Studies*, p. 24), thinks it is an original composition. One occurrence (2).

Bernia, Opera de. Reference is to Berni, of which Bernia is an alternate form used by Du Verdier, p. 958. One occurrence (142).

Berthrand du Guesclin. This is probably *Le Triomphe des Neuf Preux . . . avec l'Hystoire de Bertrand de (sic) Guesclin*, Abbeville, 1487, but with a Paris edition, 1522 (Doutrepont, p. 222). Four occurrences (4, 109, 113, 167).

Bible des poetes metamorfozes. One ed., 1531. See Du Verdier, p. 138. One occurrence (93).

Bigarrures du sr. de Accordz, i.e. *Tabourot des Accords*. See Tchemerzine, also BN, which has an edition of 1583. None of the five occurrences is prior to 1587. Five occurrences (35, 42, 84, 121, 187).

Bigarrures des ans passez. Is this the same as above? There is only one entry, in Galiot.

Blanchon, Joachim. *La canidie hespagnole, tragédie*. His

Œuvres poétiques are dated 1583. One occurrence (187), of 1589.

Blason d'amours. Discussed by Brunet (I, 966, 971 and *Suppl.* I, 135) and by Picot, *Cat. Rothschild*, IV, 3197. One occurrence (109).

Blason des armes. Probably identical with *Blason de toutes armes et ecutz tres necessaire . . . a tous nobles seigneurs*, 1495, of which some editions bear the title *Blason des couleurs* (Claudin, II, 81). Brunet mentions the latter (s.v.). Probably not the same as the *Blason des armoiries* of Bara, 1579, to which Beroalde de Verville is said to have contributed. This would be too late for Inv. 15 (1518), 85 (1530) and 19 (1550), but would be all right for Inv. 22 (1586).

Blason des couleurs. Perhaps Jean d'Enghien, called Sicille, *Le blason des couleurs en armes livres et devises*, Lyon, 1528 sq. in several editions. But what is its relation to a similar title, above? It is mentioned in Ggr, I, ii, 1124. It is all confusing, with *Blason des armes*, *Blason des couleurs* and *Blason des couleurs en armes* recorded in BN.

Blasons anatomiques. For a full description see F. Lachèvre, p. 47. He mentions a Paris edition (Langelier) of 1543, which could be the one in question, since the two occurrences are 109 (1549) and 1561 (Galiot).

Boccaccio. It is difficult to classify the works of this poet because the inventories merely put an author's name without further specifications, and because the translation titles are sometimes confused, as we shall see. What, for instance, is the *Petit Bocache de la ruyne d'Angleterre* (173)? Three entries mention only the author's name: 54, 78, 219. The titles are given below separately.

—. *De casibus virorum illustrium*, usually rendered *Des nobles malheureux* (or *mal fortunez*). There was an early translation, that of Verard's publication, 1494. See Macfarlane, No. 38, but Claudin (I, 222) records a still earlier one, 1484, under the title *Le livre de la ruyne des nobles hommes et femmes* (See also *ibid.*, III, 256). In whatever form it be, it proved tremendously popular, with 19 occurrences outside of Galiot, mostly in bourgeois circles though seven of these entries are in aristocratic libraries. Occurrences: 2, 3, 4, 47, 80, 85, 109, 113, 123, 144, 147, 153, 164, 173, 198, 268, plus Galiot.

—. *De claris mulieribus*, variously translated "cleres

dames," "nobles dames," "nobles et cleres dames." There is a Latin version in Inv. 26, 113 and Galiot. Five vernacular entries are found (2, 4, 85, 109, 123) but Nos. 85, 123 represent princely houses. One of the most important versions is that of Laurent de Premierfait, *Cas de nobles hommes et femmes*, Paris, J. du Pré, 1484. We should include the Verard text: *Cleres dames*, 1493, which Cladin (II, 460) records as *De la louange et vertu des nobles et cleres dames*.

—. *Decameron*. There are copies in Italian listed as such (162, 176, 177) and even a copy in Spanish (45). Several French versions bear the caption *Des cent nouvelles* (2, 144). Altogether there are 30 occurrences: 2, 4, 25, 35, 39, 42, 45 (twice), 52, 60, 84, 97, 99 (2), 102, 107, 124, 144, 160, 162, 176, 177, 184, 192, 205, 207, 208. Sometimes the title is split into *De Cameron* or even *Le Cameron*.

—. *Genealogia Deorum*. Cladin, II, 476 has one edition as early as 1499, but the inventories have nothing earlier than 1547. We have ten occurrences (15, 16, 22, 102, 113, 160, 161, 195, 208, 209), the latest 1586.

—. *Ninfale Fiesolano*, with only one occurrence—in Galiot, under the title *La nymphal*—but with 22 copies. In such a case we may suspect that it is a kind of holdover, but there is an edition (Baudrier, III, 67) of 1556 entitled *Le nymphal Flossolan*.

—. *Oroyson Boccasse*, unexplained. Inv. 151.

—. *Philocoppo*. A *Philocope* exists in the BN, 1542, 1555. Three occurrences (27, 35, 56), plus Galiot.

—. *Temple*, which is G. Chastellain, *Le Temple Jehan Bocace, de la ruyne d'aulcuns nobles malheureux*, fait par George Chastellain, son imitateur. Paris, 1517, for which see under *De casibus*. Occurrences: 111, 134, 167.

Bodin, J. There are three occurrences of his *Demonomanie (des sorciers)*: 36, although this entry is hard to read, 174, 203. There are 21 occurrences of the *République*: 14, 21, 22, 30, 36, 52, 92, 95, 98, 117, 140, 152, 160, 161b, 162, 178, 181, 183, 186, 200, 201. If this looks like an amazing indication of popularity, we must realize that the social class here represented was that of the parliamentarians and legal bourgeoisie.

Boeuf en tonne. A whimsical example of garbling. We are to understand *Bueve d'Antonne* or *Bevis of Hampton*, one of the numerous refacimenti of Old French epics. For this one see

Doutrepont, p. 41, who speaks of an edition of 1502 (Paris, Lenoir), and Tilley, *Studies*, p. 19, who agrees as to date, whereas Macfarlane is more cautious about the Verard edition, which he places between 1500-1503 (No. 133, p. 67). There is but one occurrence unless we include the Bourbonnais copy (4), which may be MS.

Boillon, Godeffroy de. The correct reading is Billon. The folio edition of 1504 would check with the inventory date, 1519, as a possibility. Only one occurrence (175). See also Godeffroy, below.

Boscán, Obras de. The spelling in Inv. 13 is *Bosquan*, a single occurrence outside of Galiot, who registers 10 copies. Most likely bound with Garcilaso. Brunet reports an edition of 1543, Barcelona, but Baudrier (V, 276) speaks of 1546, -47, -49.

Bouchet, G., Les serées. There is a Poitiers edition, 1584 (Tchemerzine). Two occurrences (35, 42).

Boyteau, du. We may understand P. Boaistuau. There is only one occurrence of his *Théâtre du Monde*, Paris, 1561, according to the British Museum (52).

C

Calendrier des bergers. Preceded by the words *Compost et* in editions after the first. For its history see Tilley, *Studies*, p. 17. He represents it as popular. There are editions in considerable number, from that of 1491 of Guy Marchant (Claudin, I, 360), through 1502, -08, -13, -24, -30, -31, etc. (Baudrier, XII, 104). Nine occurrences (47, 57, 77, 82b, 85, 88, 104, 109, 164) but three are noble houses.

Calepin. First ed. 1514 (Grente). Immensely popular, so much so that all occurrences were not listed. Chief mentions, 10, 29, 36, among earlier inventories. Six copies in Galiot.

Calvin's *Institution de la religion chrétienne* is found twice, once in Latin (152) and once undetermined as to language (35), both of very late date, 1581 and 1591.

Cancionero. One case (107) is simply "ung cancionero es-pangnol" owned by d'Herberay; another (177) is not clearly decipherable, but seems something like "Cancionero de genuatemoli."

Capitaine Lasphrise, pseud. of Marc de Papillon, Œuvres poétiques en faveur des dames. The Sayvre inventory is of 1589, but it was added to by the son, so that the appearance of the

collected works, which are dated 1597, is not to be construed as a difficulty.

Carondas. Responces. Brunet has one edition, 1554. One occurrence, (42). A book of his *Sur les fiefs* (200) is not, of course, literary.

Carsel damour hespaignol. Diego de San Pedro. Paris editions of 1552, 1567 are found in the British Museum. One occurrence (112), but see *Prison*.

Castillo inexpugnable. Is this related to Billon's *Fort Inexpugnable*? Only one occurrence, and that in Galiot.

Celan (?) de bret (?) One occurrence (109).

Celestina. Several translations. Grente says the 1527 version was from the Italian, which Hurtado y Palencia traces to 1505 (p. 247). According to Du Verdier the 1542 version is that of Oudin. For the vogue of this work in the French Renaissance see Tilley, *Studies*, p. 181. The two occurrences are early, 1537 and 1544 (10, 93).

Cent nouvelles nouvelles. These were popular from the beginning. For the editions 1486 and 1488, see Claudio I, 438; II, 387, 429. The success of the stories is evidenced by numerous occurrences (2, 3, 47, 82b, 85, 164, 166, 166b, 175, 207, 208, 213), but five are of noble houses and at least one is MS.

Champfleury. G. Tory, 1529. Eight occurrences: (10, 89, 109, 124, 134, 152, 159, 171). No. 134 is in the princely library of Antoine de Lorraine. One copy is found in the stock of Galiot.

Champion des dames. Martin Le Franc. Besch reports an edition of 1442, Tchemerzine one of 1499-50. The BN has a copy of 1530 (Ye 21028-30). The occurrences are early, 1515, 1519, 1534, 1547 (26, 144, 172, 207) plus no less than 454 copies in the stock of Galiot. All this points to considerable popularity. Granted that this success was early and that Galiot is somewhat of a holdover in 1561, it seems that the book was much read just at the time that the *Querelle des Femmes* was at its height in the sixteenth century.

Chantepleure. The full title is *Chantepleure deau vive redundant*, Paris, 1537. One occurrence (15).

Chants royaux. There are not many occurrences, only three, of which one is in a bourgeois library (147), the other two belonging to Antoine de Lorraine (134) and Anne de Graville (101). None is later than 1540. Is this small number enough to allow us to say that the genre is rather of the first half of

the century? More data would be necessary to allow a statement.

Chartier, Alain. Bédier-Hazard, I, 120, state his works were not collected until 1617. Be that as it may, some were published early, e.g., *Les faiz et ditz*, 1489 (Claudin, II, 74), which occurs in certain inventories, obviously not in MS (15, 25, 27, 175). A MS copy of this work is in Inv. 179. His *Chronicque* has some entries. (15, 96). The rest of the works are simply "ung Maistre Alain Chartier" or something similar. No *Quadrilogue* separately, though there was an edition of 1477-8 (BN) and the *Belle Dame sans Mercy* is aristocratic (4, 219).

Chasse de la part damours en ung volume en françois. The correct title, according to Lachèvre (*Recueil*, pp. 12-15), is *La chasse et le départ d'amours*, Paris, 1519. One occurrence (113).

Chasteau d'amours. Robert Grosseteste (Holmes, *Hist. O. F. Lit.*, p. 232). There is a 1500 version (Reynier, pp. 14, 15). Bk. 10 is called *Conqueste d'amours*, Picot, *Cat. Rothschild*. A single occurrence (170b).

Chasteau de labour. Gringore. Tchemerzine (VI, 27) lists sixteen editions before 1551. For some of them see Baudrier, XII, 133 and Claudin II, 356. One occurrence (109) plus 250 copies in Galiot. In Inv. 109 there is a *Chappeau de labour* which we may read *Chatteau*, so that the number of entries is in reality two.

Chasteau perilleux. Judging from the fact that in two cases (both 4) it is bound with St. Augustin or with his works plus the *Orologe des princes* (q.v.), we gather that this is a work of edification. Two copies are in MS (63, 70) while three more, not specified as to publication (all in 4), are noble holdings.

Chevalier au chisne. Doutrepont discusses a 1504 edition (p. 58). One occurrence (44) located in Ghent. See Mél. Champion, p. 26.

Chevalier doré, La plaisante et amoureuse histoire du. There are three editions, but that of 1542 is the only one that could be in Galiot's stock.

Cité des dames. Probably the *Trésor de la cité des dames* of Christine de Pisan. If so, it is the only work of that author not in princely libraries or in MS. There were two editions of that book (while the other works are not encountered), 1497 (Macfarlane, No. 48), 1503 (Brunet). Three occurrences (4, 47, 182), but two of these are noble holdings.

Chy commence la Prolonge. One entry is a MS in a royal library, the other (206) is at Amiens in 1533. The dialect is Picard, and it is not surprising to see it at Amiens. Could it possibly refer to the *Elucidation of the Graal*?

Civile conversation. Guazzo's original, according to Brunet, dates from 1574, and a translation from 1579. For the latter, see Du Verdier, p. 373. Three occurrences between 1579 and 1598 (42, 180, 216).

Civilité puerille. See *Humanisme et Renaissance* II (1935), p. 302, for this series of courtesy books. There is a *Civile honesteté pour les enfans*, 1559, and a *Civilité puerile* of 1560, of which the author was Mathurin Cordier. There are three occurrences, two of which are booksellers whose stock lists date from 1560-61 (90 and Galiot). The third is Inv. 187.

Clamades. The full title adds *fils du roy d'Espagne*. There are a number of editions, 1484 being the earliest certain one. Some, 1480 (?) and 1502, were in Lyon. See Claudin, III, 110. Two occurrences (104, 114), both early, 1512-15 and 1522.

Cleriades et Meliadus. See Besch, p. 161, who describes an edition of 1495 corroborated by Macfarlane, No. 41, and Tilley, in *Revue du 16^e s.* VI (1919), 51. Of the three occurrences (4, 85, 173) only one is not aristocratic (173).

Comédies facétieuses. Pierre Larivey. One edition, 1579, Langelier, Paris, and another, 1597 (Baudrier, III, 446). One occurrence (36).

Commines. Variously labeled *Chroniques* and *Mémoires* and as often as not referred to as the product of "M. d'Argenton." Immensely popular. Galiot alone had over 600 copies, and these figures check with the numerous occurrences (1, 15, 19, 22, 25, 31, 36, 37, 39, 42, 49, 52, 60, 80, 96, 107, 109, 135, 142, 147, 154, 167, 198, 709, plus the Belleau estate). The curious thing is that only two are in aristocratic houses (80, 167). There were several editions in the sixteenth century between 1524 (Tchemerzine says 1523) and 1551 (Bossuat, No. 5261 sq.). The format of only one is expressly designated as folio (39).

Compte des aventures, possibly *Comptes du monde aventureux*, Paris, 1555. One occurrence (42).

Comptes du Sr. de la Houssaye, which we may perhaps read *de la Herissaye*, which is, in other words, Noel du Fail. Reference may be, then, to the *Contes et discours d'Eutrapel*, Rennes, 1585. One occurrence (35).

Conqueste d'amours. In all likelihood the tenth book of the *Chasteau d'amour* (q.v.). See Baudrier, III, 103 and Brunet, *Litt.*: *Conqueste du chasteau d'amours conquistée par l'humilité du beau doulx*, ca. 1500. A single occurrence (104).

Conqueste de Grece. See Tilley, *Studies*, p. 24. Reference seems to fit the edition of Galiot du Pré, Paris, 1528: "Faicte . . . par Philiipe Madien" from the lost work of Perrinet du Pin. Found only in Galiot.

Constan du Vayr. Du Vair's *De la constance et consolation es calamitez publiques*. 1593. One occurrence (42) but several copies are mentioned, since it is a bookseller's stock.

Contreditz de songecreux. Attributed to Jehan de Pontalais. Ed. Paris, Cousteau for Galiot du Pré, 1549. For the contents see Guy, H., I, 317. One occurrence (109).

Coquillart, G. Usually the inventories do not specify the works individually, except one (109) where mention is made of the *Plaidoyer*. The first collected edition is dated 1532 (Tchemerzine), which fits in with the inventories (35, 50, 96, 109, 113), the oldest of which is 1542. Galiot records 187 copies "en papier."

Courogne. Could this possibly stand for *Coulogne*, or, more fully, the epic *Theseus de Coulogne*? See Picot, *Cat. Rothschild*, II, No. 1498. One occurrence (6).

Couronnement de la royne.

Couronnement du roy Françoy. Both are found in the same inventory (113). Apparently they are anonymous. See Brunet, *Dict. des anonymes*, giving edition of 1520.

Courtisan. Castiglione. The inventories show both Italian and French versions: for the former 13, 93, 107, 136, 168, for the latter 42, 45, 67, 82, 100, 102, 109, 111, 120, 125, 142, 158, 207. The popularity of the book outside the nobility is attested by Inventory 82, that of a "marchand hostelain." All these, besides 65 copies in Galiot, attest to the vast popularity of the work. A French version, Lyon, 1438 bears this title: Castillon, Baltazar de, *Le courtisan nouvellement reveu et corrigé*, but there are several others, notably BN 1537-38, 1585 to 1592, which checks with the inventories in extending through the century.

Cretin. Œuvres. Collected works, according to Grente, published 1526, presumably in Paris. Two occurrences. (109, 209), the later 1549.

Cupido et Vénus, Un livre de . . . One occurrence (181).

Cymbalum mundi. B. Despériers. Ed. Paris, 1537. One occurrence, (109).

D

Dames des Roches. There are the *Œuvres*, of which the later version is of 1583 and the *Recueil de la Puce*, which Tchemerzine registers as 1582. One occurrence (187), which hails from Poitiers itself.

Danse Macabre. Ed. Marchant, 1485. The latest occurrences are of 1551 (90, 173) but these are booksellers, as is Galiot. The first two each had 100 copies. Janot, in 1522, had shown fifty. Other than those mentioned, the inventory dates are all very early, the latest being 1525 (118). Of the rest, 4, 85, belong to the aristocracy; four of them, not previously mentioned, are bourgeois (57, 104, 118, 141). We may conclude that this is an essentially mediaeval work, but in its day popular in more than one social class.

Dante. In general the works are not specified. One entry has "Dante avec le commen" (11), another "Dante, petit, italien" (13), still another *Rime* (177). It is odd to see "Dante et Guevarra" (?) (186). Galiot records some 20 copies of an otherwise unspecified "Danthe" but adds 11 copies of the *Purgatorio*. Only one occurrence is aristocratic (4). The rest (13, 142, 149, 177, 186, 207) are not so.

Debat de fortune et de vertu. Single occurrence (119).

Déduiz, Roman des. Gace de la Buigne. See Bossuat No. 5531 sq. and Groeber, *Geschichte*, p. 258. Three occurrences (28, 85, 173) of which the first is royal.

De recta pronuntiatione. It would seem that this is the same, at least in title, as the work of Th. de Bèze, but that work was published in 1584 while the presence of an entry in Galiot means this could not possibly be later than 1561. Hence the problem. To be sure, Bèze's book is called *De francicae linguae recta pronuntiatione*.

Desciple de Pantagruel. Full title: *Les merveilleuses navigations du Desciple de Pantagruel, dict Panurge*, published by Dolet in his pirated edition, ca. 1538. There is a Janot edition in the BN. See Plan, No. 47 and Plattard, *Etat présent*, p. 70. Two occurrences (16, 109).

Desirant. Perhaps the same as the *Complainte du désirant*

in MS (4). In Inv. 42 the writing could be clearer at this point, and there is unfortunately a single occurrence.

Despériers, Bonaventure. *Nouvelles récréations*. The Lyon edition of 1558 could be involved here, because of the fact that four out of five inventories are later than 1560 (42, 90, 816, 187), while in the remaining one it is not clear whether we should read 1553 or 1558 (205).

Desportes, Ph. He was evidently very popular, for there are a number of occurrences (41, 42, 58, 80, 100, 121, 126, 140, 146, 187, 200, 216), plus the Belleau estate (1581). Of these only the first named is an aristocratic library. Two are from Amiens, one from Poitiers, three from Bordeaux, attesting to a wide geographical distribution. The earliest edition is 1573, which could fit well, 1579 being the oldest inventory. Grente registers 35 editions from 1573 to 1615, which checks with the other figures here given.

Destruction de Jherusalem. Grente speaks of it as a "roman," but the phrase "par personnages" indicates rather a play. The edition is that of Le Roy, Paris, 1480 (Grente). There is a later one, 1491, according to Claudio, II, 109. Single occurrence (144).

Destruction de Troyes (la grande). Jacques Millet, 15th c. Grente mentions an edition at Lyon in 1544, but what of Claudio's suggestion of 1484 (I, 182)? See Ggr, I, ii, 148 and *Geschichte*, pp. 236-37. The BN has editions from 1500-1554. Eight occurrences (4, 29, 85, 101, 109, 113, 144, 206) three of which (4, 85, 101) are aristocratic. Worthy of comment is the fact that one (144) is "en allemand," located at Metz; Inv. 4 is "par personnages."

Diablerie, Ung livre de la. E. Damerval. One edition, 1508; one occurrence, 1515 (144).

Dialogue de la vie et de la mort. Galiot only.

Dialogue de l'amitié des demoiselles. One occurrence (42).

Dialogue de l'orthographe. See Pelletier.

Dialogue du françois italien. Full title: *Deux dialogues du nouveau langage françois italianisé et autrement desguizé, principalement entre les courtisans de ce temps*. H. Estienne. Two occurrences (42, 174).

Dictionnaire de Dolet. Perhaps the *Commentarii linguae latinae* are meant, because the words there are arranged more

or less by areas of thought. Its date is 1536-38; the inventory, 1546. One occurrence (59).

Dictionnaire historique et poétique. One occurrence (183), 1589. There is a *Dictionarium historicum ac poeticum* of Ch. Estienne, 1561.

Dictz moraulx des philosophes. Appears also as *Proverbes et ditz*, etc. Transl. by Guillaume de Tignonville. Two occurrences (113, 167), the latter belonging to a princely library. There is some discrepancy between the number of inventories and the fact that Galiot has over 450 copies in three different entries, one of which, to be sure, has only one copy. There is a reprint of 1533 (Grente). See also Picot, *Cat. Rothschild*, III, No. 2558.

Dioscorides. See Mateoli.

Discours politiques de l'amour. One occurrence (36).

Disticha Catonis. A standard school text of the period. See J. Ulrich, *Die Übersetzung der Disticha des Pseudo Cato, Romanische Forsch.* XV, 41-69; also Darmesteter-Hatzfeld, *Seizième siècle en France*, p. 70, especially in connection with François Habert. The BN has a copy dated 1504. For others, see Baudrier, I, 51; X, 63; XI, 101. These show variation in titles. Eight occurrences, besides Galiot with 64 copies and Janot with 300 (35, 104, 109, 159, 167, 207, 216). The first is counted twice because there are obviously two different versions. In two cases *Cato* is found, in connection with the *Donet* (Janot, i.e., Inv. 114) or with *Donet* and the *Rudimeniz* (216). See also Lachèvre.

Ditz d'amour. Perhaps by Adan de la Hale. One occurrence (109).

Doctrinal de court. See Ggr, I, ii, 441, 1137. Brunet, III, 1699. Three occurrences (49, 115, 207) the first royal.

Don Florindo. Anon. (?) Spanish edition, Zaragoza, 1530 (Brunet). Translator not indicated. Two entries in Galiot.

Donetz. See *Disticha*. Extra entry in Galiot, 2 copies and one edition of late date, Paris, 1560.

Doolin de Maience. See under *La fleur des batailles*, Paris, 1501. One entry in Galiot, without indication of copies.

Du Bartas. As usual, individual works are only occasionally specified: *Judith* (140) and the *Premiere sepmaine* (174). Other occurrences are 42, 137, 139b, 161, 187, the third that of Marguerite de Valois. None is previous to 1584, so that the edition

of 1579 could check. There were of course many others. See Holmes et al., *Du Bartas*, I, 70 ff.

Du Bellay, J. What complicates the attributions is the mere mention of "Bellay" without further qualification, though Jean du Bellay is mentioned in one case (186) but what are the *Œuvres* in that same document. Other occurrences are fairly numerous (36, 137, 146, 162, 183, 201, 209, 212 [*Poemata*], and Belleau estate). Four editions, 1549, 1553, 1557, 1561, the last two posthumous.

Du Haillan. Three different works are represented in as many inventories: *Histoire de France*, 1576 (166); *Les vies des plus grands . . . capitaines*, 1568 (168); *De l'estat et succes des affaires de France*, 1570 (187).

Du Mont. See *Bergeries*.

Du Tillet. The *Recueil des roys de France* is to be interpreted *La chronique des roys de France depuys Pharamond jusques au roy Henry II*, Paris, 1549. A BN edition of 1557 is entitled *Les faits memorables advenus depuis Pharamond*. Two occurrences (36, 200).

E

Eloquence françoysie. Anon., L'Angelier, 1590. Two occurrences (42, 187).

Epistres dorées. Hurtado y Palencia, p. 382: "Las Epistolares familiares (Valladolid 1539 y 1541), llamadas en la traducción francesa Epistolares doradas." The author is A. de Guevara. Many editions in the BN, translated, between 1558 and 1588. Two occurrences (130, 187).

Equicola. *De la nature d'amour*, tr. 1589. One occurrence (42).

Esclaves damours. One occurrence (109).

Estat de chasteté et parement des dames, most likely to be interpreted as Olivier de la Marche's *Parement et triomphe des dames*, of 1510. One occurrence (93).

Estienne, Ch. *La Police*. Inv. 46 says very clearly that it is "Ch" Estienne, but what is this work?

Estienne, Henri. *Apologie pour Herodote*. One occurrence (187). The edition is Geneva, 1556. *Traicté de la conformité du lang. fr.* (151), 1554.

Estienne, Robert. *Dictionarium latino-gallicum*, 1543, of which one occurrence (142). *Precellence*, bound with the *Dialogues* (q.v.), occurs in one inventory. (92).

Estrif de vertu et de fortune. Martin Le Franc. In the Tchemerzine title it is *Estrif de fortune et de vertu*. Date 1519. One occurrence (173).

Ethique et politique. One occurrence in Inv. 23 and the *Ethique* alone in Inv. 109. See Aristote.

Euryal et Lucresse (Histoire de). See Claudin, IV, 67, 187. Reynier (p. 28) ascribes it to Aeneas Sylvius. One occurrence (147).

Expilly, Cl. *Poemes.* Ed. Paris, 1596. One occurrence (42), 1598.

F

Fabrica del mond[o]. Francesco Alauno. One ed. Venice 1612, seems too late. One occurrence (22).

Facetieuses journées. G. Chappuys. One occurrence (42).

Favori de court. Jacques de Rochemaire. Ed. Lyon, 1556. One occurrence (56) plus Galiot, who has twelve copies in one entry and an indefinite number in another.

Ferme de vertu. Galiot only.

Ficino. A Latin *Epistola* occurs once (162) and an otherwise unspecified "Ficinus" also once, in Galiot (3 copies), plus a "Marcilli fycin sur lamour de Platon" (184).

Fierabras. A long note on the fortunes of this prose version is in Doutrepont, p. 100, but there is some discussion in Besch, p. 156, who details some 25 editions from the Geneva ed. of 1478, for which see also Brunet, IIc, 227. One Lyon ed., 1501. Four occurrences (2, 88, 175, 219).

Flamette, (Déploration de). M. Scève, *La déplorable fin de Flamete, élégante invention de Jehan de Flores*, in several editions, Lyon, 1532, Paris, 1526 (BN). Du Verdier (p. 428), speaks of a Flamette-Pamphile story of Boccaccio of which, in fact, Flores is a kind of sequel. Hurtado I, 224, corroborates. Two occurrences (134, 177).

Fleur de poésie françoise. Lachèvre (p. 381) says it is a kind of subtitle to Scève's *Hecatophile*, (q.v.) which he dates 1534, but Grente gives 1536. Brunet mentions an edition of 1543, Tchemerzine, 1542. One occurrence, 16.

Fleur de toutes nouvelles. There is a *Fleur de toutes nouvelles chansons*, mentioned in *Bibl. Hum. Ren.* III (1943), 116, but is it the same? It would be Paris, 1536. One occurrence (109).

Fleur des batailles. Verard, 1501 (Macfarlane, No. 65).

Doutrepont (p. 89) lists several more, as late as the Rotterdam ed., 1601. One occurrence (42).

Fleur des istoires. See Gautier, *Epopées*, II, 548. One occurrence, 99.

Florence de Rome. Galiot only, with 12 copies. The Bonfons ed. of 1560 is a year before Galiot and could fit. See Doutrepont, p. 183.

Flores y Blancaflor (Un livre en espagnol de). Baudrier, III, 1570. One occurrence (18) probably the same as the *Histoire de Flores* (42) and the *Livre de Blanceflor* (4), a royal holding.

Florus de Grece. Sometimes spelled *Florest de Grece* (42). One other occurrence, Galiot. Translated by D'Herberay, 1572, which would fit the former occurrence but not the latter. There is, however, a Paris edition of 1552. See Reynier, p. 158, n. 3 for Muret comment on D'Herberay.

Foligno (sic?). Owned by a Milanese (93). The title is Latin, i.e. *Opera Nova*.

Folles enterprisées (les). Gringore. Tchemerzine gives a 1505 ed. One occurrence (109).

Fontaine d'honneur. Title possibly garbled from *Source d'honneur*. See F. Didot, *Cat.*, p. 102; Baudrier, V, 374. Both cite an edition of 1532, which could check. One occurrence (109).

Fort des dames. Probably the *Fort inexpugnable de l'honneur du sexe feminin* of François de Billon, Paris, 1555, of which three occurrences (126, 132, 177), all later than the above date, plus Galiot with at least 50 copies. Another one of the Querelle des femmes books which, like Martin Le Franc, were popular.

Fouilloux, J. du. *La veneerie.* First ed., according to Brunet, is Poitiers, 1561. See *L'adolescence de J. du Fouilloux*, Tilley, *Lit.*, II, 22. Five occurrences (39, 58, 137, 152, and Galiot).

Froissart. Edited early, Verard, 1495, and often, and as late as 1574. The BN has nine editions. Thirty-five occurrences, outside of Galiot. (2, 4, 8, 15, 22, 26, 36, 39, 40, 42, 47, 60, 67, 70, 74, 75, 85, 90, 102, 109, 111, 113, 117, 125, 126, 137, 144, 147, 169, 173, 177, 186, 198, 201, 207).

G

Gaguin. *Chroniques.* French tr., 1514 (Brunet). Two occurrences (16, 147).

Galatin, Le. One occurrence (56).

Gallien le Rethoré. Besch (p. 159) speaks of an edition of 1500, but Doutrepont, who is more to be trusted, speaks of an "incunable" (p. 104). The latter gives a list of the following eds.: 1500, 1521, 1525, 1527, 1528, 1550, 1575. One occurrence (2).

Garnier. His collected works are said by Tchemerzine to reach the 17th c. Among eds. are 1580, 1582, 1585. Five occurrences (36, 42, 121, 146, 187).

Gennes, Roman de. Could this be the *Renier de Gennes* discussed by Gautier, *Epopées*, II, 554 and Ggr I, ii, 1193? One occurrence (113).

Gerard de Roussillon. This might be the version of Martin Besançon mentioned by Bossuat, No. 428, of which the date is 1469 (i.e. date of *refacimento*). One occurrence (173), plus Turquan (207). See Doutrepont, p. 113.

Gerbert. Very likely *Gerbert de Montreuil*. There is a Paris edition of 1526 which would check with the single occurrence (61), dated 1533.

Geste des Toulouzains. Nicolas Bertrand. Was there a French version? The Latin title is *De Tholosanorum gestis*, 1515. Single occurrence, (113).

Gestes romaines en langue françoise. This is Gaguin's translation of Livy. Two occurrences (113 and Galiot).

Giglain. See Baudrier, XII, 123; Besch, p. 161; Doutrepont, pp. 288-89. Galiot's single entry marks the edition as that of Lyon, Huguetan, 1539.

Gildas, De rebus britanie. The BN has a 1525 edition. One occurrence (113).

Gilles de Rome, by which we are to understand Aegidius Romanus, *De regimine principum*, of which the only French translation is 1517, made by J. Wauquelin. Three occurrences (2, 136, 201), plus Galiot with three separate entries.

Girart d'Euphrate. Ed. Paris, 1549, discussed by Doutrepont, pp. 275-80. Two occurrences (107, 177).

Giron le courtois. Besch, p. 161, reports an edition of 1501, and there is a Verard of 1503. Nine occurrences, besides Galiot, but three are noble holdings and one is MS. The aristocratic entries are (4, 38, 80, 85); the others are (2, 45, 113, 124, 207).

Godeffroy de Bouillon. See B(o)illon. Godefroy de Billon (*sic*), also Delisle, p. 264. Editions in BN are 1504 and 1523.

Doutrepont, p. 58, discusses one of 1523. See also Tilley, *Lit.* I, 157. Of the nine occurrences, plus Galiot, none goes beyond the year 1561 (3, 4, 85, 103, 113, 118, 139, 153, 173).

Gourdon en françois. Bernard de Gordon, *Pratique de M^e Gordon*, BN Rés. Td²⁹36. Two occurrences (195, 189).

Grand arbier. Most likely the *Grant herbier en françois*, ca. 1520. See *Revue des bibliothèques* XIX (1909), p. 246. There are three occurrences listed, but it is probable that an examination of somewhat varying titles would net many more (16, 113, 168).

Grand blason. See Alecis.

Grand guidon (de chirurgie). Guy de Chauliac. Many editions, both Latin and French. An early copy, 1478 in BN. One occurrence (113).

Grande monarchie de France. One occurrence (113).

Grand routier de pillotage (et encrage de mer). Pierre Garcie dict Ferrande. Three occurrences (42, 113, 187).

Greal. Probably J. Petit, *Hystoire du sainct Greal qui est le premier livre de la table ronde. Ensemble la queste dudit sainct greal*, 1516, found in BN. Picot, *Cat. Rothschild*, II, No. 1487 n., mentions a 1514 ed. There are of course many subsequent ones. Four occurrences (38, 85, 99, 144), two being aristocratic. None belongs to Paris estates in this case, a fact worthy of comment.

Grévin (Théâtre de). Ed. 1562 (Brunet, *Suppl.*). One occurrence (130).

Griselidis. See Bossuat, p. 570 for considerable bibliography on the ramifications of this story. Its one occurrence is anonymous (219).

Guarino meschino. Despite its present Italian garb, there are versions in Spanish (1548) and French (1530), for which see Brunet, *Suppl.*, s.v., Baudrier, X, 62, and Tilley, *Studies*, p. 24. The only occurrences are in Galiot, which has at least 34 copies.

Guichardin, F. *Histoires des guerres d'Italie.* Du Verdier (p. 402) refers to translations of this work from the Italian by Hierosme Chomedy and Charles de Chantecler; at least that seems to have been the function of these men. Du Verdier (p. 797) also speaks of a *Discours sur les païs bas*, 1581, but this is doubtfully placeable here. Occurrences (8, 187, 197).

Guillaume de Palerne. Two editions noted, Paris, n.d. and Lyon, 1552. Only one occurrence (147).

Guydotz (Trois). One occurrence (153).

Guy de Warewick. Paris, 1525. See Doutrepont, p. 292 ff. Bound with *Sallade*.

H

Hecatographie (or, according to Brunet, *Hecatomgraphie*) *c'est à dire les descriptions de cent figures et hystoires, contenans plusieurs apophthegmes, proverbes, etc.* Paris, 1541. One occurrence (109).

Hecatomphile. Transl. of *Ecatomfila* of Leone-Battista Alberti, ed. Paris & Lyon, 1534. See Reynier, p. 53. Two occurrences (45, 109). See *Fleur de poésie*.

Helisanne (sic), i.e. De Crenne. In one case (109) there is mention of *Les epistres*, apparently meaning *Les lettres familières et invectives* of 1539. In the second case no title is given (60). There are the *Œuvres*, 1550.

Heptameron. Marguerite de Navarre. Ed. 1558-59. Of the five occurrences not one is definitely royal. Galiot has several different entries, with not less than 93 copies total. One of the occurrences is MS (153). The others: (42, 45, 97, 177).

Herissaye, Seigneur de la . . . Noël du Fail, Discours d'Eutrapel. See *Comptes . . . Houssaye*. One occurrence (187).

Herodian en françois. Editions: Paris 1541, and Lyon, 1554, the latter published by Thyard (Lyon). One occurrence (177).

Heur et malheur du mariage. It may be a coincidence due to the commonness of the phrase that Rabelais (III, Chap. XIII) uses the title "Comment Pantagruel conseille Panurge prevoir l'heur ou malheur de son mariage par songes." One occurrence (42).

Histoire de notre temps. G. Paradin. Lyon, 1550-1556, as a continued publication. Two entries in Galiot, the second phrased *de mon temps*.

Histoire prodigieuse. Boiaistuau, Tisserant, Belleforest. Lyon, De Tournes, 1582. Four occurrences (28, 42, 52, 130).

Histoires tragiques. Bandello. Boiaistuau's translation likely, 1559. There exists a book called *Histoires tragiques en épitome* by Alex Sylvain, Paris, Bonfons, 1558. Two occurrences (42, 170) plus Galiot.

Homelies des sonnetz. Galiot, four copies.

Honnêtes loisirs. *Sept livres des honnêtes loisirs*, 1587. See

Capitaine Lasphrise. One occurrence (131).

Huon de Bordeaux. Many editions in this century and the next. Doutrepont (p. 139), speaks of a 1516 edition among many others. There was even a play by that name (Lebègue, *Tragédie*, p. 105). Besch alludes to its popularity (p. 159). Seven occurrences (42, 43, 88, 144, 175, 191, 207) and plus Janot's 200 copies (114).

I

Illustrations de Gaule (sic). J. Lemaire de Belges. Published with *Amant Vert*, 1510, according to Baudrier, XI, 9, but editions were not lacking later, as late as 1549 (BN), in the sixteenth century. Twenty-three occurrences, plus 238 copies in Galiot—all figures concurring on immense popularity (9, 14, 25, 29, 57, 71, 73, 75, 97, 109, 112, 113, 131, 146, 147, 150, 169, 172, 174, 175, 176, 202, 218).

Institution du prince. G. Budé, 1547, and three editions thereafter. Inv. 109 has three different entries; two other occurrences (42, 100).

J

Jardin de plaisir (et Fleur de Rhétorique). Ed. Piaget-Droz, Paris, 1924, for bibliography. Seven occurrences (2, 15, 103, 109, 159, 164, 175), plus Galiot.

✓ Jason, *Obras de*. Inventory 194, Michel Sobiras, at Avignon, 1503: "Unum librum vocatum Las Obres de Jason en catelan, plus quatuor libros pauci valori." ✓

Jehan de Mandeville. Many eds. from 1480 on (Baudrier, II, 149). One occurrence (2).

Jehan de Paris. See Nisard, *Histoire des livres populaires*, pp. 398 ff. and Grente for editions. Brunet thinks the first may be somewhere between 1530 and 1540. Galiot has nine copies.

Jerson, *Sermons*. Only one occurrence is listed here (109), but there are more entries of the title in the inventories.

Jeux de Jehan l'Anchien de Baye. One occurrence (56).

Joā Bابتiste, *Dialoge*. One occurrence (45).

Jodelle. *Oeuvres et meslanges*, 1574. Two occurrences (42, 146).

Josephus. See the discussion of Montaigne. Varying titles, often *De la bataille judaïque* (Belleau) or *Guerre des Juifz* (186). Other occurrences (42, 187). Verard, as early as 1492. The occurrences as listed do not by any means comprise the number existing in the inventories. In fact, one could almost

say *et passim*, there are so many. There is room for much work here.

✓ Juan de Mena, *Coplas*. Tantalizing addition to title: *y ouctros cancioneros*. One occurrence (107).

✓ *Jugements d'amour*. "Traduction de l'espagnol de Juan de Flores" (Baudrier, X, 64). There were 18 editions, six before 1550. Two occurrences (109 and Galiot). The latter has 58 copies in 16-mo and 13 in octavo.

✓ *Justin le Martre*, i.e. *Les œuvres de St. Justin, philosophe et martyr*. Vascosan, 1559 (Brunet). One occurrence (37).

Juvences (Livre de). One occurrence (113).

L

7. *Labyrinthe de fortune*. J. Bouchet. Editions 1522 sq. One occurrence (109).

Lancelot. Often *Lancelot du Lac*, or simply "Un aultre livre nommé Lac." Besch and Tchemerzine agree on a 1488 ed. (For Besch, p. 161). See also Tilley, *Litt.*, I, 156-7n. Immensely popular with a diversity of readers. Twenty-one occurrences (2, 3, 4, 5, 27, 38, 55, 85, 87, 94, 107, 123, 129, 144, 164, 166 (a & b), 168, 173, 175, 207). Some have more than one entry (4, 166). Several are royal holdings (3, 4, 38, 85, 87, 164) plus a copy in Galiot. Inv. 5 has only this and the *Mer des histoires* in a pile of diverse household objects; the titles are not even listed separately.

Langey, *Mémoires du Sieur de*. First ed. 1574. One occurrence (162).

La Noue. *Discours*. Ed. 1587. Two occurrences (42, 187), the latter with La Noue's notes to Guiccardini.

La Porte (?). *Cinq epitectes*. Probably *Les épithètes*, 1580. One occurrence (121).

Larrimex. We are to understand Pierre de Larivey. Two occurrences (42, 146). The first specifically mentions *Les six premières comédies*, the second simply speaks of "comedies." The first is definitely 1579.

La Taille (J. de la). *Tragicomédie*. Some of his tragedies were printed as early as 1572. One occurrence (42).

La Vaux. *Œuvres*. One occurrence (200).

Le Breton, Guillaume. *Adonis*, a tragedy of 1579 (Brunet). One occurrence (146).

Légende des femmes. One occurrence (109).

Légende des flamens (artisiens et hanuyers). Paris, 1522.

Two occurrences (113, 146), plus two entries in Galiot.

Légende dorée. J. de Voragine. *Passim*.

✓ Léon Hébrieux. There were translations by Denis Sauvage, 1551, and various compositions by Tyard. Six occurrences (42, 120, 145, 177, 187).

Lettere facette (?). One occurrence (42).

Livres de sagesse. See Brunet, s.v., col. 1123. Ed. 1530. Galiot only.

Louange des femmes. Barbier, *Dict. des anonymes*, gives full title as follows: *Louanges des femmes . . . invention extraite du commentaire de Pantagruel sur l'Androgyne de Platon*. Lyon, 1551. Two occurrences (109, 173).

Louanges de folye. Erasmus. Transl. ca. 1511. One occurrence (109).

Loups ravissans. One occurrence (175).

Loyse Labbé. *Œuvres*, Lyon, 1555 (Tchemerzine). In Galiot only.

Lucidaire. First ed. ca. 1475 (De Graesse), though Brunet says merely "before 1480." One occurrence (104).

Lucignan (Histoires de). There is a "Livre" de L. mentioned by Grolier (111), but this is probably the *Hist. générale des royaumes de Hiérusalem . . .* 1572. One occurrence (42).

✓ Luis de Granada. Various works (*Trésor, Méditation, Prédication, Oraison*). Brunet lists the first ed. of 1571. Five occurrences (42, 121, 139b, 161, 190), some in Spanish, others in French.

Lunettes des princes. Meschinot. Claudio, I, 259, records some 23 editions from somewhere between 1488-93 to 1539. This index of popularity checks with seven occurrences 6, 85, 109, (has this book plus *L. des poures*), 113, 141, 147, 190, plus at least 16 copies in Galiot.

M

Ma(m)brian. We are to understand, according to Brunet, *La cronicque et hystoire du chevalier preux et redouté prince Mabrian*, Paris, n.d. but also 1530. See also Besch, p. 156; Baudrier X, 83; Doutrepont, p. 204; Tilley, *Revue du 16^e s.*, VI (1919), 48. Tilley remarks it was a sequel to *Maugis d'Aigremont*, but Besch says that Mabrian (the correct form) was the son of Renaud de Montauban. Galiot only.

Machiavelli. Several works are represented, many in Italian. The entries are as follows: the *Prince* (11, 51), the *Dis-*

antiquitez et merveilles d'Escosse, 1538. One occurrence (179).

Mespris de la court. Antonio de Guevara's *Menosprecio de corte y alabanza de la aldea*, 1539, translated by Alaigre. Cartier, *Bibliog. des éditions des De Tournes*, Paris, 1937, gives title as follows: "Du mespris de la court et de la louange de la vie rustique nouvellement traduict d'Hespaignol en Françoy, 1543. See also Baudrier, IX, 231. Two occurrences (109, Galiot).

Metode de Fierabras, i.e., Hervé Fierabras, *Méthode brieve et facile pour aisément parvenir à la vraie intelligence de la chirurgie*. One occurrence (42).

Milles et Amys. See Doutrepont, p. 24, for editions, which extended from the end of the 15th C. into the 17th C. Several occurrences (2, 4, 175).

Minturno, *De poeta*. One occurrence (22).

Miracles notre dame. See Cladin, IV, 33 for the 1489 ed. The short article *Miracles* written by Lebègue for Grente is excellent. Two occurrences (109, 158).

Miroer des pecheurs. Two possibilities, according to the *Dict. des anonymes*: Jean de Castel, Olivier Conrad. Galiot only.

Miroir de l'âme pescheresse. Marguerite de Navarre. First ed. 1531. Two occurrences (109, 158).

Miroir du monde. Tied up with the *Somme le roi*. See Bos-suat, *Bibl. No. 3598 ff.* An edition of 1517 is listed by Brunet. It occurs in Galiot only, hence we must rule out Duchesne's *Grand miroir du monde*, the first edition of which is 1587. Galiot has 8 copies.

Mirouer politique. La Perrière, ed. 1555. One occurrence (161).

Modus et ratio, Livre du roy M. et de la royne Racio, Chambéry, 1486. Ten occurrences. As one may expect, several are royal or noble (47, 55, 164), but the bourgeois holdings are not negligible (10, 16, 19, 99, 110, 114—that being Janot, with 700 copies!—207).

Molinet. Various titles, *Œuvres* and *Faictz*, with variations on these. See ed. of N. Dupire for bibliography, Paris, 1936. Six occurrences (60, 70, 79, 85, 109, 113), with one of these royal (85).

Monde de La Popelinière. To be corrected as *Trois Mondes*, Paris, 1582 (but Grente says there is a "privilège" of 1552). One occurrence (36).

Monluc (B. de) *Commentaires*. Ed. 1592 (Grente). Two occurrences (52, 125).

Monophile. E. Pasquier. Ed. 1554. One occurrence (56).

Monstre de Jeulyn (?). Galiot only.

Monstrellet, Anguerrand de. *Chronique*. Brunet gives 1467, approximately, which seems very early. As an indication of immense popularity, there are 29 occurrences (2, 10, 14, 20, 27, 36, 38, 40, 47, 62, 94, 100, 113, 116, 125, 130, 159, 161, 169, 173, 175, 178, 187, 196, 207, 213), inclusive of Belleau, 85 and 164, which, like 38 and 47, are aristocratic holdings.

Montaigne, *Essais*. The bibliography of editions, 1580, -88, -94, requires no discussion here. There are six occurrences (42, 57, 117, 186, 187, 200), three of which are held by individuals in Bordeaux (42, 187, 200).

Montemayor, Jorge de. A French translation of 1578 is noted by Brunet. Two occurrences (42, 140).

Morgant le Grant, i.e., Pulci's *Morgante Maggiore*, of which there was a French version, ca. 1525. See Tilley, *Studies*, p. 21. Three occurrences, two in French (2, 162) and one Italian (177).

Muse folastre. One occurrence (187).

Muses Françoyses (ralliées de diverses partz), 1599 (Guillemot). One occurrence (187).

Mystère de la conception. Two editions, n.d. and 1520. One occurrence (93).

N

Nebrija, Antonio. For the numerous editions of his Latin dictionary, rendered into French, see Grente, s.v. It is almost exclusively with this work that we have to do here. A number of occurrences (7, 45, 60, 93, 104, 113, 176), plus Galiot.

Nef des batailles, by which is meant Symphorien Champier, *Nef des princes et des batailles*, Lyon, 1502. One occurrence (113).

Nef des dames vertueuses. Symphorien Champier. One occurrence (19).

*Nef des folz en françoy*s. Two early editions are indicated by Cladin, one indefinitely placed in the 1490's (II, 227), the other 1497 (IV, 297). The latter is shown as translation of Jac. Loches in the Mazarine catalogue, MS 4185. There are two entries in Galiot and at least two occurrences (113, 152).

Neuf preux. Abbeville, 1487, is early edition. See Tilley,

Revue 16^e s., VI (1919), p. 51 and Groeber, p. 116. Five occurrences, of which, however, two are aristocratic (2, 47, 149, 164, 175).

Noblesse du sexe feminin. Cornelius Agrippa, *De nobilitate et praecellentia faemeniei sexus*, was translated in 1537 and published by F. Juste. One occurrence (179).

Noelz (Bible des n. nouveaux). Lucas le Moigne. For editions see Nisard, *op. cit.*, II, 128 sq., and Baudrier, III, 189. There is an edition which could fit here, the Paris ed. 1520. One occurrence (113).

Nostradamus, *Présages*, which Brunet refers to as *Prophéties*, 1555. Two occurrences (42, 90).

Nouveau monde. A play of that name is cited by Brunet as of 1508. Galiot has 11 copies.

O

Œuvres de diverses. Galiot only.

Ogesippe. Probably the *De Bello Judaico* of the pseudo-Hégésippe, in the abbreviated translation from Josephus by St. Ambrose (Renaudet, *Humanisme et préréforme*, see also Picot, *Cat. Rothschild*, II, 271). One occurrence, Galiot.

Ogier le Danoys. Early editions n.d. and 1525. The BN has a copy from 1556. Four occurrences (2, 82b, 175), and Galiot.

Olivier de Castille. Not a "mise en prose" but a 15th c. product. Published early but still found in late inventory (42).

Orlando furioso. Ariosto. Translated by Jean Martin, first ed. Lyon, 1544 (Tchemerzine), but the BN has other editions (e.g., 1554, 1555, 1582). Italian version is not lacking in inventories and Galiot has 7 or more copies in Spanish among his 118 copies of the title. There are sixteen other occurrences (20, 37, 45, 60, 78, 107, 109, 126, 130, 142, 161, 162, 170, 176, 177, 178).

Orlando innamorato. Boiardo. Editions from 1553 on (BN). Six occurrences (107, 142, 146, 177 (Fr. & It.) 178, 186).

Orloge des princes. A. de Guevara. The BN catalogue has the following entry: Libro llamado Relox de Principes ou Libro aureo del emperador Marco Aurelio, 1529, tr. Bertaut de la Grise (1531) et retouché par d'Herberay des Essarts (1559). The 1529 original is mentioned in "Fiches Picot," No. 23206, Valladolid. See Clément, *Antonio de Guevara, ses lecteurs, etc. au 16^e s.*, *Rev. hist. litt.* VII (1900), p. 214, and Tilley, *Lit.*, I, 50. especially for Bertaut. Five occurrences are specifically marked

Marcarelle, Marco Aurelio, or Marco Antolin (the last two Galiot) (8, 42, 113, 156, 190); the others are not specifically marked (13, 17, 36, 42, 46, 58, 60, 67, 109, 113, 152, 161, 162, 177, 184).

Othéa. Christine de Pisan. This is the only piece of all her work that has found a place in the inventories, and that only because we consider Inv. 173, that of Mgr. de Ravestain, as of a class intermediate between the feudal aristocracy and the bourgeoisie. There was an edition of about 1511 (Tchemerzine), too late for Invs. 4, 38. Nos. 4, 38, 80, 85, 134 are definitely aristocratic, in any case.

P

Paix au Roy. One occurrence (Galiot, one copy).

Palmerin d'Angleterre. Ed. Lyon, 1533, which would fit with the dates of the three occurrences, all considerably later (60, 177, 186).

Palmerin d'Olive. Original, 1511; Brunet: 1546 for the translation. See Baudrier, III, 256: 1553 ed., too late for some inventories. Five occurrences (42, 107, 124, 177, 186). The contents are treated by Tilley, *Lit. I*, 162.

Panterre d'Amour. Nicole de Margival. See Bossuat, No. 2801, who gives full title as *Le dit de la panthère d'amour* without pointing out a 16th c. edition. One occurrence (109).

Pape (Roman le?) One occurrence, Galiot.

Parabolles. See Alain.

Parangon des nouvelles. For bibliographic details, see Baudrier, V, 372, 375. There is a 1531 ed. (Lyon), but Du Verdier, p. 928, says 1532, a discrepancy normal for the period. If, however, this is Nicolas de Troyes, one cannot reconcile it with Grente's statement that the latter's work remained in MS until the 19th c. One occurrence (109) plus at least four copies in Galiot.

Parangon de vertu. See Baudrier, IX, 165. Galiot only.

Paraphrases d'Erasme. The BN has several editions in French. One occurrence (179).

Paré (Ambroise). Brunet gives his collected works early as 1545. There were folio editions in 1575, 1579, and 1585. In the inventories, individual works are frequently not specified (1, 165, 183). There are several of the *Traicté de la peste* (36- with *Discours de la Licorne*, 157); the *Peste* is dated 1568, the *Licorne*, of which the full title is *Discours d'Ambroise Paré . . .*

à sçavoir de la mumie, des venins, de la licorne et de la peste, is dated 1582. Grente does not give any *Livres des bandages* (26, 174).

Parfaicte amye. Héroët. Lyon, 1543 (Dolet) and as many as 20 eds. to 1568. Galiot only, but shows 55 copies.

Paris et la chambre (?). Galiot only.

Pathelin. Seven occurrences (2, 19, 85, 96, 109, 113, 114).

Pelletier, *Œuvres de*. Since there is only one occurrence (142), it is hard to say which is meant, whether the poetical works alone or the *Dialogue de l'orthographe*. Galiot is more specific, with at least 11 copies of this work. It is notable that the *Œuvres* show up in his stock to the amount of 202 copies.

Perceforest. The Mazarine has eds. of 1528 and 1532. There are five occurrences (4, 38, 61, 102, 177) plus Galiot. In one inventory (102) it is bound with *Melliflue* (q.v.)

Perceval (le Gallois). There is a 1530 ed. Two occurrences (4, 132) plus Galiot.

Peregryn. J. Caviceo. (or Daviceo, according to Grente, s.v. Jehan Martin.) Three occurrences (13, 189, plus a book transfer of P. de Ste Lucie to Philibert de Corgeon recorded by Baudrier, III, 80). What relation to this is a *Premier livre du pellerin* (45)? The *Pellerin* is of 1515, while the Dussy version corrected by Martin is 1528.

Perfection des filles religieuses (sur l'exemplaire de l'ymage nostre Dame), n.d. (Brunet, *Suppl.*). One occurrence (109).

Perot. Probable reference is to the *Grammatica Perotti* (Claudin II, 140 and Baudrier V, 140), of which there is an early ed. (1479) in the British Museum. But there is no way of positively identifying this Perot from others, since no title is mentioned in the two occurrences (26, 133).

Petite Diablerie. Ed. 1508, Paris, Lenoir (Tchemerzine). One occurrence (114).

Petrarch. As usual, specific titles are frequently not given, and with this poet it is hard to state with certainty whether a Latin title means only the Latin works, all the more so since in the Midi inventories were in Latin (e.g., 135). Definitely marked with Latin titles (78, 113, 173, 174). Only one case is clearly labeled *Canzoniere* (102). Other collections of the works are numerous: (10, 12, 14, 19, 22, 45, 76, 78, 85, 89, 100, 111, 125, 139b, 142,—“avec le commen”—146, 152, 153, 156, 173, 174, 176, 177, 186, 192), plus many references in Galiot,

many labeled *Petrarcha cum annotationes (sic)*. Unfortunately, again as usual, the author alone is given. Of the *Remedia . . . utriusque fortunae*, there are eleven occurrences (3, 14, 38, 80, 85, 87, 89, 109, 147, 152, 218) plus at least 23 copies in Galiot, five of the list aristocratic holdings. Of the *Triunfi*, there was a Verard version 1514, today in the BN. Du Verdier, p. 407, refers to a prose version of 1520, also French. We count 21 occurrences: (3, 43, 60, 75, 85, 89, 101, 102, 109, 113, 119, 136, 138, 144, 147, 162, 167, 172, 173, 190, 208) plus 5 copies in Galiot and a mention in the inventory of Du Prat, skipped by the editors (*Bibl. Hum. Ren.* III (1943), 172). What the *Vie de Petrarque* of Inv. 9 might be is still in doubt.

Phantasies de la mere sotte. Gringore. The BN copy has a Privilege of 1516 and Tchemerzine records about twelve editions to 1551. Two entries in Inv. 109 of the *Phantasies*, one spelled *Fantaisies*, plus one title that may be the same, i.e., the *Visions de la mere sotte*, in the same inventory.

Philibert de Lhorme. (Spelling is that of the inventory.) The title is not decipherable. Two occurrences (92, 169).

Philo Judaeus (also known as Fillon juif). Brunet's date for the first translation, 1588, is clearly impossible, since both inventories (28, 132) are of 1586 and both are given in the French version rather than in the Latin form of the author's name. Grente does not have a date for Plançon's translation. (See under this name.)

Philostrate. Du Verdier (p. 9) would associate this with Boccaccio, but it is more probably Blaise de Vigenère's translation (F. Juste, 1537) of Philostrates. Three occurrences (36, 42, 126).

Phoebus. Various forms of the *Deduiz de la chasse*, ca. 1507. Four occurrences (4, 39, 85, 173) the second and third of these being, as one might expect, royal.

Pibrac, G. de. See R. du Faur, cte. de Pibrac, *Catal. des ouvrages et éditions de Guy du Faur*, Orléans, 1901. Two occurrences (42, 187).

Pierre de Provence et de la belle Maguelonne (*Hist. de*). Early edition, 1489 (Claudin, III, 427), but there were later ones in great number, cited by Brunet. Booksellers as widely separated in date as Janot, 1522 (114) and Carcan, 1551 (44) have respectively 50 and 500 copies. Seven occurrences (4 -2 entries, 11, 18, 42, 122, 219) and a book transfer record repro-

duced by Baudrier, III, 80. But we note that with the exception of the Cabat inventory of 1598, obviously a survival, the others do not run beyond 1530.

Pierre des Croissantz (Petrus de Crescentiis). His *Livre des Proffits chamestres et ruraulz* is cited by Brunet and several editions by Cladin (I, 437). The BN has editions of 1521, 1532, 1536, 1540 among others. Four occurrences (109, 153, 177, 207) plus the book transfer recorded by Baudrier, III, 80. The BN has also *L'Art d'enter, planter et cultiver jardins*, 1560, too late for all except one inventory (177).

Plato. A number of individual works are represented. "Le dialogue" (109, 126); "Phedon," *Timaeus* and *Symposium* (126) and the "Symp(h)ose" (177, Galiot). The latter has an edition of 1559, which could fit here. The *Phedo* was published in 1553, but there must have been older editions that would fit in with a date of 1549 (109).

Plus grands capitaines. Brantôme (?). It seems doubtful that it is his work, because that is supposed to have been published posthumously, but Bédier-Hazard (I, 274) say: "l'impression fut faite d'après des copies infidèles qui circulaient dans le public." (But see Du Haillan.)

Plutarch. As usual, specific titles are not always mentioned, i.e., frequently the author alone or *Œuvres* (8, 149, 152). The *Lives*, curiously in the singular at times, have several occurrences (1, 92, 142, 177), as do the *Opuscula* (41, 186, 201, Belleau). Under *Vies* we should include Galiot. Brunet's edition of the French works is too late for Inv. 11, which is 1555, while his date is 1567, but there is one ed. of 1559 (BN, Vélins, 701).

Poggio, *Facetiae*. An Italian edition dates from 1482 and the French edition of Trepperel is two years later. For the former see Pansier, I, 134; for the latter see Brunet, who is not too sure of the date. Seven occurrences (3, 85, 109, 122, 154, 200, 219).

Polibe en françois. Tr. Marquet, 1542, which fits the two inventories (145, 177).

Policraticus sive de nugis curialium. J. of Salisbury, in the translation of J. Petit. Galiot only, three copies.

Poliphile (Songe de). Francesco Colonna. Orig. Venice, 1499 (*Bull. du Bibliophile* (1899), p. 20), Fr. adaptation, 1554

(see also Du Verdier, p. 720). Seven occurrences (37, 39, 56, 117, 156, 162, 177).

Ponthus de Tyard ("Thiare" in text). See Chamard for bibliog. Three occurrences (42, 186, 187).

Politiano. What work? No title given. One occurrence (69).

Postel, G. *De la république*. Is reference to *Les raisons de la monarchie*, 1551? One occurrence (39). His *Erreurs populaires de la papesse Jeanne* requires identification.

Postilles en françois (et exposition des epistres). An edition of 1492 (Brunet, IV, 839). Two occurrences (113, 175).

Pourmenoir de Montaigne. Mlle de Gournay. Ed. 1594. One occurrence (42).

✓ *Primaleon de Gresse espangol*. Ed. 1549. Hurtado says (p. 346) that it is the second book of the *Palmerin*. Two occurrences (107, 186).

Prinse de Alexandre. See Bossuat, No. 4358 for bibliography. One occurrence (207).

Prinses de Roddes. This may be Jacques de Bourbon, *La grande et merveilleuse et très cruelle opugnation de la noble cité de Rhodes, prinse naguère par le sultan Soleiman*, Paris, 1526. The BN has eds. of 1525, 1526, 1527. Five occurrences (107, 109, 113, 204, 208) plus 25 copies in Galiot.

Prison d'amour. See *Carsel*. See Reynier, p. 55; Tilley, *Studies*, p. 181, with categorical date 1526; Du Verdier, p. 1082. Galiot only, but under *Carsel* another occurrence is given.

Q

Quadrilogue. See Alain.

Quatre filz Aymon. First ed., 1480 but there were about 25 in the course of the century (Besch, 156-8). Twelve occurrences (2, 4, 42, 44, 87, 114, 139, 148, 149, 170b, 175, 182). Janot (114) has 80 copies, 1522. No date of inventory runs later than 1534 outside of the booksellers' stocks and the usual 42 (Cabat), which contains large numbers of survivals, even for a bookseller.

Quenoilles, Livre des. See Claudin, III, 313, for a 1485 ed. (Brunet, *Litt.*, 1475) and Du Verdier (p. 331), who speaks of 1493. Two occurrences, one of which is royal (85, 109).

R

Rabelais. Various books. The bibliography is too complex

to be discussed here. Thirteen occurrences (16, 35, 42, 56, 58, 60, 84, 109 (twice), 136b, 137, 151) plus 5 copies in Galiot. As to the books with which the *Gargantua* is bound, see the discussion of Rabelais. Inv. 16 is surely in error on the 5^e and 6^e, so-called.

Ragionamenti di nobilitate. One occurrence (177).

Recréations et mignardises d'amour. Brunet records *R., devis et m. amoureuse*, n.d. and 1583. Tchemerzine, under the heading *Demandes et responses*, has a work by A. Chartier, *Recreation, devises et mignardise d'amour.* One occurrence (42).

Recueil de diverses histoires. One occurrence (191). There are several such "Recueils," *R. de toutes histoires* (24) and *R. des hystoires de bonnes femmes* (147).

Recueil de poésie françoise. See Lachèvre, 1550. One occurrence (140).

Recueil des hystoires de Troyes. Of the 1464 ed. Tilley says, "Traduite par Raoul le Fèvre de la version latine faite par Guido Colonna en 1287 du *Roman de Troie* de Benoît de Sainte-More" (Rev. 16^e s., VI (1919), 51). One ed. goes by the name *Recueil des hystories troyennes* (Claudin, IV, 107). It is mentioned in Ggr I, ii, 1147. Three occurrences (47, 113, 164), but the last two are aristocratic holdings.

Regnards traversans (les perilleuses voyes des folles finances du monde), Paris, ca. 1503, but there are eds. of 1522 and 1530, according to Lachèvre, p. 135. The full title is registered by him. Grente adds the words ". . . composées par Sébastien Brand," but attributes the authorship to J. Bouchet, as does H. Guy (I, 213). One occurrence (29) plus Galiot.

Regole grammatical de la volgar lingua. One occurrence (19).

Repentir d'amour, to which the *Dict. des anonymes* of Barbier adds the words ". . . de Dieromène," with authorship probably attributable to L. Groti, Paris, 1595. See Baudrier, VI, 33. One occurrence (42).

Responce a quelque apologie. One occurrence (176).

Rethoricque de nouvelles. One occurrence, Galiot.

Rhetorica Cavalcanti. B. Cavalcanti, *La retorica divisa in sette libri*, 1558-59. One occurrence (36).

Richesse de la langue vulgaire. One occurrence (78).

Rime di diversi. See Brunet, ed. of 1545-46. See Giolito. One occurrence (96).

Rivaudeau, A. de. Probably *Œuvres poétiques*. One occurrence (Belleau).

Robert le Diable. One edition (Claudin II, 227) has the title *Vie du terrible R. le Dyable*. For others, see id. II, 153; III, 175; five occurrences (4, 42, 47, 114, 164) the first three aristocratic. Janot (114) had 800 copies in 1522.

Roillet, Claude. *Varia poemata*, Paris, 1556. Although he is a neo-Latin poet, his attachment to contemporary movements may allow his inclusion here. One occurrence (146).

Rondeaux. There were, of course, many collections. *Les cinq rondeaux* and *Le triomphe des rondeaulx* (109 and 179 respectively) are most probably the same and represent the *Fleur et triomphe de cent et cinq Rondeaulx*, 1540, cited by Barbier, *Dict. des anonymes*. *Rondeaulx et ballades* (179) may perhaps be the one alluded to by Baudrier X, 64 (Gringore?).

Ronsard. Various works are specifically mentioned. The *Amours* (26, 72), the *Odes* (Galiot, 56, 112, 136), *Mascarades* (52, 126, 146), *Hymnes* (62, 184), *Eclogues* (146), *Bergeries* (Belleau), *Franciade* (146, Belleau). As usual, unspecified works (Galiot—about 10 copies, 42, 45, 49, 52, 56, 107, 117, 130, 139b, 216). Bibliography is too complex to be discussed here, except to note about 20 editions. Perhaps the most popular of the lyric poets of his time.

Rose (Roman de la). The bibliography is too great and too complex to be discussed here. One of the phenomena worth pointing out is the unusual survival of MS copies, even in the bourgeoisie (Galiot, 4, 47, 85, 134, 164, 203, 219). Of these, 4, 85, and 164 were royal. There were editions numerous enough to attest the popularity of the work, and many occurrences besides those already given (9, 26, 37, 49, 55, 93, 103, 109, 147, 173) plus 160 copies in Galiot, inclusive of one in prose, which may be the translation of 1503.

Routier de la mer. Brunet lists it as of the beginning of the 16th c., publ. in Rouen. Is this related to the *Grand routier de pillotage* (q.v.)? One occurrence (109).

Rudimenz. There are many books by that name, and it is hard to say whether the occurrences (58, 216) refer to the same one.

Ruisseaux de Fontaine, i.e. Charles Fontaine. Grente has

it as of 1555 but Baudrier, IV, 263, says 1553. Galiot has 24 copies.

S

Sagesse, Livres de. Galiot, 8 copies.

Sallade, (Ung livre intitulé la . . .) Apparently A. de la Sale. There was an edition of 1521 (Tchemerzine). Called in one inventory (147) *La Sallade des princes*. Other occurrences (113, 134, 207) plus Galiot, in whose stock *La Sallade* and *Guy de Warewick* are bound together.

Salmonce de Reboul. Read *Salmonés* and see Grente, s.v. "Reboul." One occurrence (42).

Saluste en volgar italien. One occurrence (19).

Sanezar, Francisci Coloni. See below. One occurrence (93).

Sannazaro, Jacopo. Probably reference is same as preceding. The *Soneti* are in Inv. 177 and two copies in Galiot. But what are the *Cenobi* (?) of which the same source has four copies?

Saynes affections. Attributed to Mlle de Gournay by the *Dict. des anon.* and date given as 1591. No place of publication indicated. One occurrence (42).

Scaliger. *Poetica*, Lyon, 1561. Two occurrences (1, 36).

Scève, M. See *Flamette*.

Scévole de Sainte-Marthe. His works were issued in 1569 and 1579 respectively, according to Tchemerzine. Four occurrences (36—*Poemata*, 110, 187, Belleau).

Secret d'honneur. Octavien de St. Gelais. See Macfarlane, No. 187, ca. 1503. The BN has one copy of 1519. Two occurrences (68, 109) plus Galiot, but the last two mentioned both seem to read more like *Seiour* (Sejour). If this is right, the title remains unidentified.

Seiour d'honneur. See *Secret*.

Sept sages de Rome. Early ed. Geneva, 1494 (Brunet, *Suppl.*) Is this the same as the *Ditz des s.s.*, mentioned by Baudrier, I, 345? See Grente for bibliography of editions. Outside of Galiot there are no bourgeois occurrences (38, 85, 101 are of the nobility).

Serées. See *Bouchet*.

Serf de fortune. One occurrence (184).

Sermons de M^e Jean Jerson. Inv. 109 is representative of many more.

Seyssel, Cl. *Histoire de Thucidide*. Ed. 1534, Lyon. One occurrence (187).

Sexe feminin. One occurrence (109), but it may be a short title for the *Fort inexpugnable . . .* (q.v.).

Sidrach (*La Fontaine de toutes sciences du philosophe*). Early ed. 1496 (?) (Macfarlane, p. 57, and Cladin, I, 433). Nine occurrences (4, 85, 93, 107, 109, 173, 175, 207, 213), plus Galiot's 82 copies and those of Janot, numbering 60 (114).

Siege de Lusignan. Possibly *Discours des choses les plus remarcables auvenues durât le siege de Lusignan*, 1574 (British Museum). One occurrence (187).

✓ *Silva de varialexikon*. The original of Pero Mexia is dated 1540, but there is a translation under the name of *Les diverses leçons*, 1552. See Tilley, I, 50. One occurrence (107).

Sire Guerard. One occurrence (24).

Sommaire d'Escosse. One occurrence (113).

Songes drolatiques (de Pantagruel), 1565. Nothing to do with Rabelais, beyond showing his fame. One occurrence (52). But see J. Porcher in *Mél. Chamard*, p. 229.

Sophonisba. Possibly that of Trissino. One occurrence, Galiot.

Sperone Speroni. *Dialoghi delle lingue*. A French translation of Gruget, 1551. Four occurrences (36, 45, 142, 177).

Sponde, J. de. *Deffences*. See Lachèvre, p. 268, for a "Responces." Is this the same? One occurrence (42).

Straparola, *Facetieuses nuicts*. Ed. Larivey, 1585 (Brunet, *Suppl.*). One occurrence (42).

T

Table Ronde (Livre de). Too wide a title to identify. One occurrence (24).

Tahureau, *Les poèmes de Jacques*. Ed. Poitiers, Marnef, 1554. Four occurrences (35, 49, 168, 187).

Tassino. *Œuvres*. Six copies in Galiot, of a Lyon edition otherwise unspecified. Galiot only.

Temple de bonne renommée. J. Bouchet, Paris, 1516. One occurrence (2).

Temple de Mars. To be attributed to Molinet, ed. ca. 1491, since a similar title by Pierre d'Origny is too late by ten years. One occurrence (109).

Théâtre du monde. P. Boaistuau. Villey, *Sources . . . Mon-*

taigne, p. 85; *Le théâtre du monde, où il est faict un ample discours des misères humaines*. Large number of editions. One occurrence (42).

Theologia naturalis. Probably all refer to Sebond, but one occurrence (111) is mysterious in that it gives a "Don Redon" as author. An early translation is that of Jean Martin, *La théologie naturelle de Raymond Sebond comprise en sept dialogues intitulez aultrement De la nature de l'Homme traduicts du latin*, Vascosan, 1551. Other occurrences than the one above are numerous enough to give evidence of popularity (18, 53, 156, 184, 186, 191, plus Galiot's 22 copies).

Tiraqueau. Although it is not our policy to include Latin works, the attachment of this jurist to the intellectual development of Rabelais obliges us to say something approaching *passim* to the question of his occurrence in the inventories. Galiot has several entries, including the famous *De legibus*.

Toison d'or. Perhaps to be attributed to Guillaume Filastre, Paris, 1530, according to Barbier, *Dict. Anonymes*, who records editions of 1510 and 1539. Four occurrences (9, 113, 154, 164).

Toute belle sans pair (Livre de la). An "œuvre de piété," of which Brunet records an edition, 1520. One occurrence (109).

Tragedie pastoralle. One occurrence (42).

Traité de l'amour. One occurrence (192).

Treize (?) questions d'amour. Of uncertain identity. Could be the translation of a Spanish work, *Question de amor de dos enamorados* of 1513, of which the French version, *Questions des deux gentilshommes sur le fait de l'amour*, is dated 1541. Galiot has 175 copies.

Trelin, Œuvres de. We are to understand Trellon, ed. of 1597. One occurrence (42).

Tresbizonde, Romanz de. Is this the same as the *Conqueste de T.* described by Tilley, *Rev. 16^e s. VI* (1919), 46? See also Doutrepont, p. 206, contradicting Besch, p. 160, who assigned this to the 15th rather than the 16th c. One occurrence (113).

Tresor d'Amadis. Grente writes it in the plural and refers to a modern ed. (1923) in the *Revue Hispanique*. One occurrence (42).

Triomphe de la princesse Margueritte. One occurrence (109).

Triot de Clereau (?). One occurrence (42).

Tristan. Here, too, the bibliography is too complex to be

discussed in detail. Macfarlane (*op. cit.*) raises a question as to the probability of a 1494 edition. Besch, on the other hand (see p. 161) is sure of an earlier one (1489). There are many editions through the century and, according to Brunet, they run late. Titles vary (*Tristan de Leon, de Lyonnaise, de la Table Ronde.*) Twelve occurrences (2, 3, 4, 19, 37, 38, 80, 107, 109, 144, 177, 181) plus Galiot. Five of these are aristocratic.

Triumphes de la noble dame. J. Bouchet. The full title reads *Triumphes de la noble dame et amoureuse et l'art de honestement aimer.* The BN has a 1530 edition, among a large number of others subsequent to 1563. Eight occurrences (4, 7, 85, 108, 109, 164, 177, 207) plus Galiot with his 23 copies. Three are aristocratic holdings.

Trois filz de roy. Grente gives title *Le livre des trois filz de roys*, Lyon, Nourry, 1503. One occurrence (175).

Trois pelerinages (Roman des). G. de Guillevalle. The old Mazarine catalogue, MS 4185, records an edition of 1511. Tchemerzine merely says "about 1500." Two occurrences (93, 109), plus Galiot's six copies.

Turpin (Croniques de). Grente says it passed into the *Mer des Histoires*, but it is obviously found independently, with an edition of 1527; there is also one of 1476 (Besch, p. 158, n.). One occurrence (113).

Turrin, Claude (*Les œuvres poétiques de*). Edition of 1572 (Brunet, *Suppl.*). One occurrence (140).

V

Vallantin et Orson. Doutrepont (p. 220) cites Gautier in favor of an edition of 1489, but Baudrier (III, 209), ca. 1500. *Op. cit.*, also, X, 13, 55; XII, 446. Is this the same as *Walleran et Oursin*, Lyon, 1489? One such occurrence (206); others (2, 42, 144).

Vallere le Grant. Transl. of Simon de Hesdin and Nicolas de Gonesse. For bibliography, see Bossuat, No. 5962. An edition of 1476 is recorded by Cladin, I, 199. Popular, with 21 occurrences (2, 3, 4, 19, 25, 49, 51, 62, 81, 82b, 85, 87, 109, 111, 138, 159, 179, 207, 213, 216, 219) plus at least 109 copies in Galiot. It is hard to say which are Latin and exactly which titles are represented.

Varchi. (*Soneti di*). It is curious that this well-known poet should show up in no more than Galiot.

Vauldois, Livre des. One occurrence (122).

Vegesse de l'art militaire en françois. Claudin, II, 420, records a translation of the *De re militari* as *L'art du chevalier*, Verard, 1488. Inv. 113 has two entries, one French, one Italian.

Veles de Guevara. Galiot only. What work?

Verger d'honneur. Octavien de Saint-Gelais. Ed. ca. 1500 (Tchemerzine). See Lachèvre, *Le plaisant vergier d'honneur*, p. 478. There is a *Vergier d'honneur* by André de la Vigne (Grente). Occurrences show a fair success (2, 113, 136, 153) plus Galiot.

Vie civile. Galiot only, 4 copies.

Vie des pères. Ed. 1487 (Claudin, III, 143). One occurrence (208).

Vigo en françois. See Brunet, *Suppl.*, ed. 1531. One occurrence (165).

Villehardouin. Tchemerzine claims 1585 as original edition (Paris, Langelier). Three occurrences (36, 187, 190).

Villon. The well-known first edition of Levet is 1489; the first Marot ed. is 1533. The ordinary bourgeois inventories (109, 207) make no distinction between the two, but Galiot does. He has 180 copies of "François Villon en petit papier lettre romaine des premiers," elsewhere one copy of "Villon vieil" plus 37 copies "corrigez par Marot."

Vincent l'historial, i.e., Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, of which there was a French ed. by Verard in 1495 (Macfarlane, No. 42), and another by Desrey (?) in 1515. See Groeber, *Geschichte* p. 141. Several occurrences (63, 85, 97, 99, 105, 109, 139b, 147, 168, 173, 199, 211). Inv. 99 has both a printed and a MS version; that of 179 is definitely Latin. The only royal holding is 85.

Vives, Loys. *Dialogues.* A French trans. came out in 1545 according to Brunet, *Suppl.* One occurrence (84) and Galiot, 34 copies.

Voyage de Jherusalem. Ed. 1517 (Brunet). One occurrence (113).

Voyage de Vilamon, i.e., *Voyages du seigneur de Villamont en Europe, Asie et Afrique*. Paris, 1596. One occurrence (42).

Y

Ysopet. Grente says (s.v. *fable*): "il (author of fables) n'a pu prendre connaissance des *Isopets* du Moyen âge," which

may be true, but it is wise to point out that all three occurrences (104, 109, 147b) have the name *Ysopet* as part of the title.

Yver (Jacque d'). *Printemps*. Ed. 1572. See Du Verdier, p. 650. Two occurrences (46, 187).

III. LIST OF INVENTORIES

THE arrangement is alphabetical according to the name of the person whose estate is represented in the inventory. At times, that name being illegible, the name of wife or husband is used in its place. Dates are given where available.

1. Akakia, Martin, docteur en médecine. Etude XXIV, Liasse 136. 1588, 15 décembre.

2. . . . Albiac, Charles d', conseiller du roi en sa chambre de comptes au pays de Languedoc. Etude XIX, Liasse 265. 1534, n.s., 28 janvier.

3. Angoulême, Comte d'. E. Sénemaud, *La bibliothèque de Charles d'Orléans, comte d'Angoulême, au château de Cognac en 1496*. Paris, 1861.

4. Anne de France. Chazaud, A.M., *Enseignements d'Anne de France. Inventaire des meubles estans en la maison de Monseigneur le duc de Bourbonnais et d'Auvergne estant en sa ville d'Aiguesperses*. Paris, 1507.

5. Auffroy, Agnes, femme de Pierre Parent, marchand. Etude LIV, Liasse 52. 1535, 6 septembre.

6. Avrillier, Ysabeau, femme de Robert de Louvencourt. *Archives de la ville d'Amiens, Archives communales*, VI (Série FF), Amiens, 1911, p. 358. 1503, 3 nov. Hereafter referred to as Amiens, or, in sequence, by *Ibid.*

7. Aymon, Charles, mercier et bourgeois de Paris. Etude XCI, Liasse 31. 1544, 15 avril.

8. Babon, Philibert, cardinal de la Bourdaiserie, abbé commendataire etc., en son hôtel, cloître de St. Nicolas à Paris. Bibliothèque de Rouen, MS G 123. 1570, 8 avril.

9. Bachelier, Regnault, greffier de l'Hôtel de Ville. Etude CXXII, Liasse 1319. 1557, 14 février.

10. Badonviller, Jean de, avocat. Etude VI, Liasse 68. See also *Bull. du Bibliophile* (1893), 127. 1544, 6 juin.

11. Basilhe, Pierre, libraire. Date 1504. See P. Pansier, *Histoire du livre et de l'imprimerie à Avignon, du 14^e au 16^e siècle*. Avignon, 1922, II, p. 29.

12. Baudesson, Jean, procureur au Châtelet. Etude C, Liasse 107. 1554, 16 avril.

13. Baudesson, Philippe, procureur au Châtelet. Etude C, Liasse 107. 1556, 9 décembre.

14. Baudet, Jehan, seigneur de Roddon. Etude IX, Liasse 159. 1578, 16 janvier.

15. Baudry, André, président des enquêtes, conseiller du roi. Etude CXXII, Liasse 1287. 1550, 14 octobre.
16. Baudry, Maistre Robert, en son vivant conseiller du roya sur le faict de la justice. A division of property made during his lifetime. BN MS Français 6536. 1589, 23 décembre.
17. Bedoue, Odo, marchand et bourgeois de Paris. Etude C, Liasse 126. 1584, 31 août.
18. Bellay, Cardinal Jean du (partial document). Etude LIV, Liasse 226. 1560, 2 juillet.
19. Bellièvre, Claude L. Auvray, "La bibliothèque de Claude Bellièvre" (1530). In *Mélanges Picot*, II, 333.
20. Benoist, Pierre, marchand, bourgeois de Paris. Etude XCI, Liasse 138. 1595, 12 décembre.
21. Berenger, M^e, docteur à la faculté de théologie, prédicateur du roi. Etude XI, Liasse 112. 1594, 12 décembre.
22. Berzian, Théodore, seigneur de Grabbe, demeurant à St. Germain les Paris. Etude XXIII, Liasse 227. 1586, 9 décembre.
23. Bochart, Katherine de (illeg.). Etude III, Liasse 43. 1532, 19 septembre.
24. Bocquet, Jean, apothicaire. Amiens, p. 546. 1541, 20 mars.
25. Bonete, Robert, seigneur de Blesmure. Etude IX, Liasse 151. 1570, 30 janvier.
26. Bonnot, Catherine de, troisième femme de Jacques de Brion, seigneur de Savigny. Etude CXXII, Liasse 1122. 1547, 23 août.
27. Bossu, Pierre Le, receveur général des monnaies. Etude XIX, Liasse 267. 1543, 15 novembre.
28. Boucher, Guillaume, marchand et bourgeois de Paris. Etude XXIV, Liasse 136. 1586, 26 février.
29. Boucher, Guillemette, femme de Durand Gerlier, libraire juré, date 1517. See E. Coyecque, *Recueil d'actes notariés relatifs à l'histoire de Paris . . . au 16^e s.*, Paris, 1905, p. 17, hereafter referred to by author.
30. Bourges, Gaspard de (illeg.). Etude CIX, Liasse 57. 1598. 26 août.
31. Bourdeaulx, Genevieve de, femme de François Dugastel, avocat à la cour des aides. Etude LXXXVI, Liasse 158. 1580, 23 juillet.

32. Braillon, Michel, conseiller au Parlement de Bretagne. Etude III, Liasse 121. 1556, 28 novembre. (Possibly Traillon.)

33. Brion, Gérard de, avocat au Parlement. Etude I, Liasse 49. 1578, 3 septembre.

34. Briçonnet, Jehan, seigneur de Cormes. Etude LXXXVII, Liasse 65. 1567, 2 mai.

35. Brissard, Jean (no other indication). Etude CIX, Liasse 57. 1594, date illeg.

36. Brisson, Barnabé, M. le président. Etude LXXVIII, Liasse 155. 1591, 7 décembre.

37. Broussel, Jacques, seigneur de Bazancourt, avocat au Parlement. Etude LXXVIII, Liasse 154. 1587, 16 décembre.

38. Bruges, Louis de. Van Praet, *Recherches sur Louis de Bruges*. Paris, 1831, p. 144. Ca. 1492.

39. Budé, Marguerite, femme de Pierre de Saint André, conseiller du roi. Etude LXXXVI, Liasse 101. 1565, 27 mai.

40. Budé, Dreux, seigneur de Marly-en-France. Etude LXXXVI, Liasse 92. 1550, 12 décembre. See also *Bull. de la Société de l'hist. de Paris*, XII (1885), 192 for data on him.

41. Bunault, Alexandre, avocat. Etude XXIV, Liasse 138. 1590, le mardi apres le quatrième jour de septembre.

42. Cabat, Pierre, marchand libraire. Archives de la Gironde, Minutes Bouhet, Etude Richard. 1598, 7 janvier.

43. Calier, Robert, apothicaire et épicier. See Coyecque, p. 52, date 1522.

44. Carcan, Claudine. Bill of transfer, made out by Claudine Carcan, widow of Claude Nourry, to the seigneur de Corgenon, Mar. 16, 1551. In Baudrier, *Bibliog. lyonnaise*, III, 80.

45. Carvenonay, François de. Anne Hurault, femme de François de Kernevenoy (Carvenonay), conseiller de la chambre du roi. Etude XIX, Liasse 282. 1560, 4 juillet.

46. Castera, Jehan de, bourgeois et marchand de draps de Bordeaux. Gironde, Minutes Bouhet, Etude Richard. 1598, 2 mars.

47. Châlon-Orange, Prince de. M. J. Gauthier, in *Bull du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*. I (1882), p. 95: "Catalogue de la librairie des princes de Châlon-Orange."

48. Chappoton, Germain, avocat. Etude IX, Liasse 154. 1573, 7 décembre.

49. "Chappuis, Claude, libraire du roi." Published by H.

Omont in *Bull. de la Société de l'hist. de Paris*, XV (1888), pp. 22-26. Date of death 1572. See also "Fiches Picot" for numerous references.

50. Charpentier, Jehanne, femme de Pierre Boucher, clerc au greffe de generaulx de la Justice des aydes. Etude VI, Liasse 68. 1544, 2 octobre.
51. Chauderon, Jean, conseiller du roi et abbé du Mau (?) lent. Etude LIV, Liasse 52. 1534, 29 juin.
52. Claverie, Pierre, in extremis, régent et principal au collège de Guienne. Gironde, Minutes Bouhet. 1595, 26 avril.
53. Coupoui. See below.
54. Coponi, Alexandre. Died, 1504. See Pansier, II, 19. The spelling of 53 is to be disregarded, according to his reading.
55. Cocquerel, Antoine de, procureur. Amiens, FF 159, p. 393. 1518, 13 août.
56. Cornet, M^e Charles, conseiller au baillage d'Amiens. *Ibid.* p. 716. 1578, 16 juin.
57. Cousin, Claude, femme de Nicolas Millot, docteur régent de la faculté de médecine de Paris. Etude LXXVIII, Liasse 157. 1597, 17 octobre.
58. Cousin, Marie, femme de Jean Caron, marchand libraire. Amiens, p. 755. 1583, 7 septembre.
59. Coutel, Demoiselle Gabriel, femme de J. Texier, conseiller. Etude LXXXVI, Liasse 92. 1546, 18 août.
60. Crocquoison, M^e Pierre, conseiller. Amiens, p. 728. 1580, 20 juin.
61. Croisay, Nicolas de, or Cerisay, Baron de Rivières, Etude CXXII, Liasse 1084. 1533, 2 mai. Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, hereafter referred to as IRHT.
62. Croson, Lois, avocat. Etude XLIX, Liasse 157. 1569, 2 août.
63. Danet, Pierre, maître des requêtes. Etude CXXII, Liasse 1081. IRHT. 1526, 11 sept.
64. Delamaison, Pierre, valet de chambre du roi. IRHT. 1540, 22 septembre.
65. Des Essarts, Antoine, seigneur de Glatigny. Etude XIX, Liasse 66. 1494, 2 juin.
66. Destas, Robert, avocat au Parlement. Etude IX, Liasse 143. 1562, 15 septembre.
67. Drouet, Laurens, marchand bourgeois. *Bull. du Bibliophile*. 1894, p. 218.

68. Dubois, M^e Philippe, seigneur de Berny, procureur royal au baillage d'Amiens. Amiens, p. 747. 1582, 15 mai.

69. Dubuz, Claude, femme de Jean de Valenciennes. Etude CXXII, Liasse 300. 1550, 14 juillet.

70. Du Drac, Adrien, conseiller au Parlement. Etude CXXII, Liasse 55. 1532, 30 septembre.

71. Dufau, Lancelot, évêque de Luçon. Archives départementales de la Gironde, G 327. 1523, 1^e mai.

72. Duhamel, Pascal, lecteur du roi es mathématiques. Etude CXXII, Liasse 126. 1565, 30 novembre.

73. Dumont, Michel, procureur au Parlement. Etude XCI, Liasse 123. 1571, 20 septembre.

74. Dupuy, Cl. *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, LXXVI (1915), 526. Date 1595.

75. Duvivier, Nicole, avocat au Parlement. Etude LXXXVI, Liasse 89. 1543, 19 mars.

76. Fabri, J., licencié en droit. Date 1450. See Pansier, I, 79.

77. Faucquonnier, Ysabeau, femme de Nicola Carpentier, hucher (*sic*). Amiens, p. 533. 1539, 19 juillet.

78. Ferret, Ysabeau, veuve de Pierre Bataille, général à la cour des aides de Paris. Etude LIV, Liasse 220. 1568, 2 juillet.

79. Flesselles, Philippe de, conseiller médecin au roi. Etude III, Liasse 122. 1564, 23 mars. See "Fiches Picot" and Du Verdier III, 202.

80. Fontainebleau. E Quentin-Bauchart, *La bibliothèque de Fontainebleau et les livres des derniers Valois*. Paris, 1891.

81. Fontenoy, Nicolas, avocat. Etude XCI, Liasse 31. Date 1549 in text of the document and 1550 above in pencil, 27 février.

82. Forcheville, Firmin de, marchand hostelain. Amiens, p. 706. 1576, 7 mars.

83. Fourcroy, Claude de, avocat. Etude XXIII, Liasse 133. 1587, 7 octobre.

84. Fournier, M^e François, avocat au baillage d'Amiens. Amiens, FF 424, p. 783. 1587, 21 août.

85. François I. H. Michelant, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de François I à Blois en 1518*. Paris, 1863.

86. Fremin, Henri, avocat en la cour de Parlement. Etude XIX, Liasse 282. 1560, 9 juillet.

87. Gaillon, Château de. A. Deville, "Comptes de dépenses

de la construction du château de Gaillon," *Doc. inéd. de l'hist. de France*, 1850, Ch. V, p. 486 ff. End 15th C.

88. Galiot du Pré. Etude LXXIII, Liasse 43. 1561, 12 avril.

89. Garancières. Charles de . . . , seigneur de Garancières, avocat. Etude LXXXVI, Liasse 101. 1567, 29 décembre.

90. Gaultier, P. et Froger, J., libraires. An agreement between the two relative to the transfer of books. E. Gosselin, *Glances historiques, normandes*, Rouen, 1872, p. 109. 1560.

91. Geet, Melcior, teinturier. Amiens, FF 189, p. 482. 1528, 19 mai.

92. Gelee, Guillaume, conseiller et lieutenant criminel. Etude XXIV, Liasse 139. 1594, 8 août.

93. Gentil, René, conseiller. Inv. in connection with his arrest and confiscation of property. Etude LIV, Liasse 54. 1537, 1^e avril.

94. Gilles, Nicole (wife of . .). IRHT. Etude XIX, Liasse 66. "Milieu du XVI^e s," says their catalogue.

95. Girard . . . (rest illeg.). Etude LXXVIII, Liasse 155. 1571.

96. Godeffroy, Anne, femme d'Odo de St. Yon, avocat. Etude XXXVI, Liasse 7. 1542, 3 août.

97. Godeffroy, Léon, avocat au Parlement et au Châtelet. Etude XI, Liasse 70. 1566, 18 juin.

98. Goudebon, Jehan de, seigneur de Domeingault (?), conseiller, Etude XI, Liasse 113. 1598, 4 juillet.

99. Gouger, Nicolas, bourgeois et marchand. Amiens, p. 607. 1551, 1^e juin.

100. Granger, Jean, seigneur de Lyverdis, conseiller et maître d'hôtel du roi. Etude LXXVIII, Liasse 157. 1597, 20 mars.

101. Graville, Anne de. Maxime de Montmorand, *Une femme poète du XVI^e siècle, Anne de Graville*. Paris, 1917, p. 98 ff. Date 1540.

102. Grolier, Jean. Le Roux de Lincy, *Recherches sur Jean Grolier*, Paris, 1866.

103. Guédon, Nicole, seigneur de Presles, avocat en Parlement. Etude LIX, Liasse 117. 1569, 2 août.

104. Gueynard, Etienne, éditeur (?). See Pansier, II, 24. This is a book trade with Pierre Bochard between 1512-1515.

105. Hennequin, Jean, avocat. Etude VI, Liasse 70. 1580, 20 janvier.

106. Henry, Jacques, (no occupation). Amiens, p. 547. 1545, 24 novembre.

107. Herberay, Nicolas d', seigneur des Essarts, commissaire ordinaire de l'artillerie. Etude XIX, Liasse 273. 1552, 27 octobre.

108. Hocquelin, M^e, docteur en médecine. Amiens, p. 543. 1541, 5 septembre.

109. Hodic, Gilbert de, notaire au Châtelet. Etude III, Liasse 300. 1549, 21 août.

110. Hogis, Pierre d', . . . [illegible]. Etude CXXII, Liasse 29. . . . 1572, 24. . . .

111. Hovard, Jean, notaire. Etude CXXII, Liasse 126. 1564, 1^e juillet.

112. Hutin, M^e Jean, docteur en médecine. Amiens, p. 658. 1564, 17 juillet.

113. Jacyer, Catherine, femme de Jean le Féron, avocat en la court du Parlement. Etude LXXXVI, Liasse 94. 1548, 19 mars.

114. Janot, Jean, libraire. Etude CXXII, Liasse 4. 1522, 17 février.

115. Joachim de Rome. See Pansier, III, 72 ("Pièces justificatives"). 1484.

116. Joly, Jehan, procureur. Etude IX, Liasse 285. 1584, 13 janvier.

117. Labas, Jean, conseiller. Etude III, Liasse 348. 1585, 10 juin.

118. Labbé, Jeanne, femme de J. Croqueloe. Amiens, FF 181, p. 459. 1525, 10 mai.

119. La Forge, Marguerite de, veuve de Pierre de Bresse. *Ibid.* p. 516. 1535, 13 juillet.

120. Lalemant, Pierre, notaire, secrétaire du roi. Etude VI, Liasse 74. 1562, 2 février.

121. La Mothe, Guillem de, maître libraire. Archives de la Gironde, Minutes Bouhet, Etude de M^e Richard, ff. 881-86. Division of property. 1595, 20 octobre.

122. La Mothe-Chandenier, château de. Léo Desaivre, *Inventaire du mobilier du château de La Mothe-Chandenier en 1530*. Poitiers, 1907.

123. Langlois, Arthus, greffier au baillage de Meaux. Etude XIX, Liasse 265. 1533, 18 juin.

124. Lapite, Estienne, Noble homme, sieur de Courances. Etude XIX, Liasse 272. 1548.

125. Legrain, A., conseiller au Châtelet. Etude LXXXVI, Liasse 101. 1567, 19 août.

126. Legros, Jehan, conseiller du roi. Etude LXXXVII, Liasse 67. 1589, 14 décembre.

127. Prévost, Paul Le, seigneur de Brévant. Etude XIX, Liasse 275. 1554, 5 octobre.

128. Le Riche, Pierre, notaire en la cour spirituelle de l'évêque. Amiens, p. 513. 1535, 29 octobre.

129. Le Voix, Claude, conseiller. Isolated and badly mutilated. See Maugis, p. 156. 1538 (?), also Maittaire, *Hist. typographorum*, II, 4523.

130. Lhuiller, Nicolas, seigneur de St. Mesmyn, conseiller, président en sa chambre des comptes. Etude LXVIII, Liasse 56. 1587, 18 février.

131. Ligier, Jacques, seigneur de Cornillan (Cromillan ?) en Normandie. Etude VIII, Liasse 426. 1581, 19 juin.

132. Lizet, Pierre, "Prisée de la bibliothèque du président Pierre Lizet." L. Douët d'Arcq in *Bibl. Ecole des Chartes* XXXVII (1876), 358. Date 1554.

133. Lorfrevre, M^e Nicole, écuyer. Amiens, p. 520. 1536, 15 novembre.

134. Lorraine, Antoine de. F. de Chauteau, "La bibl. d'Antoine de Lorraine." In *Mém. de la Société d'archéologie lorraine* and off print, both Nancy, 1880. Date, 1544.

135. Lucas, Guillaume. Archives de la Vienne, E426, No. 6, Minutes Herbaudeau. 1581, 24 octobre.

136. Malerippe, Jehan de, greffier des eaux et forêts. Etude XIX, Liasse 279. 1557, 7 janvier.

136b. Malebault, François, receveur de l'écurie du roi. Etude XIX, Liasse 113. 1538, 9 novembre.

137. Mangon, Claude, femme de René Mangon, conseiller. Etude LXXVII, Liasse 142. 1586, 14 janvier.

138. Mangué, Claude, femme de Ch. Pieban, conseiller. Etude CXVII, Liasse 14. 1562, 30 novembre.

139. Marguerite d'Autriche, Cte E. de Quinsonas. *Matériaux pour servir à l'hist. de Marg. d'Autriche*, III, 347 ff., Paris, 1860.

139b. Marguerite de Valois. Additional books recorded in *Bull. du Bibliophile*, 1893, p. 69.

140. Marron, Ysabeau, femme de I. de la Robertière, docteur

en la faculté de decret. Etude XLIX, Liasse 215. 1585, 8 octobre.

141. Martin, Jacqueline, femme de J. Forestier. Amiens, p. 402. 1518, 16 février.

142. Martin, Jacques, noble homme, avocat en la cour de Parlement. Etude LXXXVI, Liasse 96. 1555, 26 septembre.

143. Mātrial (?) or Montreal, Robert de, seigneur de Muy les Puiseaulx "soupçonné de religion." Etude III, Liasse, 318. 1567, 7 octobre.

144. Metz, l'échevin de. J. Favier, *La bibliothèque d'un maître échevin de Metz*. Nancy, 1885. Date after 1515.

145. Michel, Estienne. Transfer of books from Estienne Michel to Guillaume Fontayne, libraire, at Bordeaux. Minutes Bouhet, Etude Richard. 1599, 6 septembre.

146. "Modius, Franciscus, chanoine d'Aire." In *Bull. de la société des antiquaires de la Morinie*, X (1897-1901), 463 (A. Roersch).

147. Morangues, Genefiefve, femme . . Sancton, procureur au Chastelet de Paris. Etude CXXII, Liasse 141. 1540, . . aoust. This inventory is much deteriorated by dampness.

147b. Morlon, Estienne, book transfer. Baudrier III, 102. ca. 1515.

148. Mornay, Jean, mercier. See Pansier, II, 19. Date 1506.

149. Moreau, d'Auteuil, Nicolas. A. Vidier, "Un bibliophile du 16^e siècle, Nicolas Moreau d'Auteuil." *Mélanges Picot*, II, 405. He died 1619, but nothing has been added since 1586.

150. Muteau, Nicolas, marchand de laine, bourgeois de Paris, Etude XXIV, Liasse, 137. 1590, 23 mai.

151. Nacquart, Sébastien, avocat au Parlement et bailli de Rochy (?). Etude XCI, Liasse 123. 1571, 5 septembre.

152. Nepveu, Jehan, conseiller. Etude XXVI, Liasse 54. 1581, 27 (month illeg.).

153. Neufve, Marie de. E. Coyecque, "Quatre catalogues de livres," in *Revue des bibliothèques*, V (1895), p. 2. Marie de Neufve, wife of Pierre Ricouart, is the only estate worth mentioning. 1519-20.

154. Nicolai, Emard, seigneur de Villeneuve. Etude LXXXVI, Liasse 96, 1554, 23 juillet. Inventaire de biens délaissé par feu M^e Emard Nicolay, par la requeste de dame Anne Baillet, sa veuve. MS BN Fr. 11456 and *id.* 22335.

155. Obry, J., apothicaire. Amiens, p. 512. 1534, 18 juin.

156. Olivier, Gaston. Françoise Lehoux, *Testament et inventaire après décès de Gaston Olivier, aumonier du roi Henri II.* Typed "thèse de lettres," 1949. Etude XIX, 271. 1552, 2 août.

157. Olivier, Girard, chirurgien. Etude XXIV, Liasse 251. 1596, 6 novembre.

158. Oultremepuis, M^e Jehan. See A. de Rossy in *Mém. de la Soc. Acad. de Boulogne s. Mer*, XVI (1891-4), 290 ff. He was called a "procureur du roi" and his inventory is dated 1545.

159. Passavant, Etienne de, maître tapissier, rue des Lombards. Etude LXXXVI, Liasse 92. 1549, 7 janvier.

160. Pautrain, Marie, femme de noble homme M^e Jehan de Machaut, conseiller. Etude LXXXVI, Liasse 159. 1585, 12 décembre.

161. Pavé, Justinien, conseiller (?) de la ville de Lyon. Etude XXXVI, Liasse 55. 1586, 17 juillet.

161b. Pelletier, A. le, notaire et secrétaire du roi. Etude LXXVIII, Liasse 155. 1591, 15 juillet.

162. Perdrier, Jacques, seigneur de la Barre, conseiller, notaire et secrétaire du roi. Etude 86, Liasse 154. 1578, 29 juillet.

163. Pezé, Ancel, bourgeois et marchand. Amiens FF 189, p. 673. 1568, (illeg.) septembre.

164. Philibert de Luxembourg, Châlons-Orange. *Journal spécial des Lettres*, I (1834), 135. 1553.

165. Pichard, Catherine, femme de Jean de la Mer, docteur en médecine. Etude CXXII, Liasse 1610, 29 novembre.

166. Pichon, Nicolas, greffier au Parlement. Etude XXXIII, Liasse 10. 1526, 13 juillet.

166b. Pichon, Nicole, greffier civile au Parlement. Date 1518. See Coyecque, p. 116.

166c. Poireau, G., chandelier de suif et bourgeois de Paris. 1525 (n.s.) 15 février. See Coyecque, I, p. 60.

167. Polignac, Anne de. "Les manuscrits d'Anne de Polignac." *Bull. du Bibliophile*, (1879), 191 ff. (Dates not given).

168. Popière, Jeanne, femme de Jacques Ferrebouc, imprimeur et libraire. 1523, 17 janvier; also Nicole de Vire, femme de Guillaume Lentier, marchand tavernier, same date, Oct. 26th. Both are published by E. Coyecque, "Inventaire sommaire d'un minutier parisien pendant le cours du 16^e siècle," in *Mémoires de la société de l'hist. de Paris*, XX (1893), 40 ff.

169. Prevost, Bernard, conseiller. Etude LXXXVI, Liasse 159. 1589, 10 oct.

170. Prudhomme, Claude, femme de Cl. Lambert, marchand et bourgeois de Paris. Etude XCI, Liasse 124. 1573, 12 oct.

170b. Raboteau, Michelle. See Coyecque.

171. Ranyer, Jean, conseiller. Etude LIV, Liasse 53. 1537, 29 mars.

172. Raoulain, Marie, en son vivant veuve de sieur noble et sage maître Robert Turquan, conseiller. Etude XIX, Liasse 1534. 1534, 19 août.

173. Ravestain, Monsgr. de. J. Finot, archiviste. *Inventaire sommaire des archives départ. antérieures à 1790.* Nord, Arch. civiles, Série B, VIII, Lille, 1895. "Librairie de Mgr. de Ravestain en sa maison de la ville de Gand. 1528, 28 juin."

174. Ravin, Pierre, conseiller. Etude III, Liasse 442. 1584, 26 août.

175. Ricouart, Pierre, libraire. Etude XXXIII, Liasse 3. 1519, n.s., 15 février.

176. Rivière, Denis de, seigneur de Granges, conseiller. Etude IX, Liasse 147. 1566, 30 août.

177. Robertet, Florimont, secrétaire d'état et des finances. Etude LXXXVII, Liasse 65. 1567, 25 octobre. See also G. Robertet, *Les Robertet au seizième siècle.* Paris, 1888.

178. Robyneau, Roger, avocat à la cour des aides. Etude CXXII, Liasse 1491. 1578, 12 nov.

179. Rogeraye, Jean de la, procureur en Parlement. Etude VIII, Liasse 116. 1539, 26 juin.

180. Roigne, Mathurin, seigneur de Boisvert, conseiller au Parlement (de Bordeaux). Archives de la Vienne E⁴Z 4, No. 14. 1583, 29 oct.

181. Rolland, Nicolas, ..(illeg.).. femme de Nicolas Rolland, conseiller. Etude I, Liasse 49. 1581, 5 juin.

182. Roussel, Marie, femme de J. Maigret, écuyer. Amiens, FF 189, p. 484. 1529, 21 mai.

183. Saint Germain, M. de, maître des comptes. Etude XXIV, Liasse 137. 1589, 5 février.

184. Saint Yon, Anthoine, conseiller. Etude IX, Liasse 218. 1581, 5 mai.

185. Sainte Lucie, Pierre de. Book transfer. Date 1557, 16 mars. See Baudrier, XII, 154.

186. Sannoys, Pierre Le, marchand libraire et relieur de livres. Etude XI, Liasse 72. 1583, 6 décembre.

187. Sayvre, Pierre de, magistrate. Archives de la Vienne, Soc. des antiquaires de l'Ouest, MS 3, ff. 41-57. 1589, with later additions.

188. Savoie, Duc de. In P. Vayra, *Inventari di 1497-8, Miscellaneo di storia italiana*, XXII (1884), 9 ff.

189. Scellier, Marie Le, femme de Pierre de Louvencourt, marchand. Amiens, p. 506-7. 1533, 16 décembre.

190. Scriek, Gaspard. Catalogue published in *Revue du seizième siècle*, XV (1928), 324. Date after 1590, but may be as late as 1613.

191. Sedelle, François, conseiller. IRHT. 1553, 7 avril.

192. Serres, Jehan de, conseiller du roi, secrétaire de sa chambre, surintendant des vivres de Sa Majesté. Etude XIX, Liasse 283. 1571, 25 janvier.

193. Sevin, Renault, avocat au Parlement. Etude CXXII, Liasse 60, 1527, 4 juin.

194. Sobiras, Michel. See Pansier, II, 18. 1503.

195. Sorie, Dame Marie de. Livres trouvez apres le trespass . . . dans l'estude de Maistre Rossaing Dommay, avocat en la cour, mary de ladicte defuncte. Etude XLIX, Liasse 215 (?). 1583, 25 avril.

196. Sueur, Nicolas Le, conseiller du roi et président des requêtes de la cour. Etude XXIV, Liasse 139. 1594, 20 juin.

197. Surreau, François, avocat. Etude XXIV, Liasse 137, 1589, 15 septembre.

198. Tanneguy, Madeleine, veuve de M. Jherosme de Chomedey, conseiller du roi. Etude LXXVIII, Liasse 155. 1591, 7 janvier.

199. Tavernier, Jeanne, veuve de François de Fourmanoyr. Amiens, p. 708. 1576, 1^e octobre.

200. Teste, Charlotte, femme de J. Chevalier, procureur au Châtelet. Etude IX, Liasse 286. 1586, 14 juillet.

201. Thiersault, Louis, conseiller. Etude IX, Liasse 160. 1579, 27 octobre.

202. Thioust, Jean, avocat. IRHT. Etude VI, Liasse 74. 1561, 7 janvier.

203. Thumeri, Jacques de, avocat au Parlement. Etude III, Liasse 44. 1532.

204. Thumeri, Guillemette de, veuve de Dreux Budé. Etude III, Liasse 45. 1535, 29 novembre. She is the mother of Dreux Budé, the person mentioned in Inventory 40.

205. Tronson, Anne, femme de Robert de St. Germain, notaire et secrétaire du roi. Etude CXXII, Liasse 187. 1553, 18 juillet.

206. Trucquet, Jean, pâtissier. Amiens, p. 508. 1533, 11 mars.

207. Turquan, Robert (?), bourgeois de Paris. IRHT. 1519 (?).

208. Valet, Pierre, Genevieve Bahuet, veuve de Pierre Valet, dit Parent, marchand brodeur, bourgeois de Paris. Etude III, Liasse 120. 1559, 4 avril.

209. Vallin, Ollivier, abbé commendataire de St. Jean d'Orbestie. Etude LXXXVI, Liasse 158. 1584, 7 août.

210. Vau, Michel du, commis au greffe de l'élection de Paris. *Bull. du Bibliophile* (1893), p. 319.

211. Vaucesson, Michel de, commis au greffe de l'élection de Paris. IRHT. Etude LIV, Liasse 226 bis. 1558, 20 juin.

212. Vaulx, Michel de, avocat. Etude VI, Liasse 73. IRHT. 1558, 12 août.

213. Vensoris, G., avocat. Etude CXXII, Liasse 350, IRHT. 1533, 29 décembre.

214. Vire, Nicole de, femme de Guillaume Lentier, tavernier et bourgeois de Paris. See Coyecque, p. 115. Date 1525-6.

215. Vivyen, Thielman, curé de St. Ay. Etude XI, Liasse 69. 1565, juin, première quinzaine.

216. Waspasse, Firmin, libraire. Amiens, p. 724. 1579, (?) novembre.

217. Mention of books transferred, without owners. See Pansier, II, pp. 83, 115.

218. (no name, no date, though apparently ca. 1570). Etude CXII, Liasse 1244. In more modern hand, at the head of the whole Etude, a reference to Liasse 1115, date 1545 or 1546, Apr. 25, concerning a book loan, with titles mentioned.

219. Anon. "librairie" publ. by L. Deslisle. *Instructions, adressées par le comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*, Paris, 1890. On p. 11 "Catalogue d'une librairie française du temps de Louis XII." Date ca. 1515.

220. "Mort et testament de R. Belleau." *Bibl. Hum. Ren.* VI (1945), 328.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Barbier, A. A. *Dictionnaire des ouvrages anonymes*. Paris, 1889.

Baudrier, J. *Bibliographie lyonnaise*. Lyon, 1895-1921. Tables by G. Tricou, 1950-52.

Besch, E. "Les adaptations en prose des chansons de geste au XVe et au XVIe siècle," *Revue du seizième siècle*, III (1915), 151-81.

Brunet, J. C. *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres*. Paris, 1860-65. Plus Supplément.

Champion, P. *Histoire poétique du 15e siècle*. Paris, 1923.

Claudin, Anatole. *Histoire de l'imprimerie en France au XVe et au XVIe siècle*. Paris, 1900-14.

Clement, N. H. *The Influence of the Arthurian Romances on the Five Books of Rabelais*. Berkeley, 1926.

Connat, M., and Mégret, J. "Inventaire de la bibliothèque des Du Prat," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, III (1943), 72-128.

Delisle, L. *Cabinet des manuscrits*. Paris, 1868-81.

Didot, Ambroise F. *Catalogue illustré des livres précieux*. Paris, 1878-84.

Doutrepont, G. *Les mises en prose des épopées et des romans chevaleresques du XVIe siècle*. Brussels, 1939.

Du Verdier, A. *La bibliothèque d'Antoine du Verdier*. Lyon, 1585.

Edelman, N. *Attitudes of Seventeenth-Century France toward the Middle Ages*. New York, 1946.

Fournier, F. I. *Dictionnaire portatif de bibliographie*. Paris, 1805.

Franklin, A. *Les anciennes bibliothèques de Paris*. Paris, 1867.

Gautier, L. *Bibliographie des chansons de geste*. Paris. 1897.
—. *Les épopées françaises*. Paris. 1878-92.

Graesse, J. G. F. *Trésor de livres rares et précieux*. Berlin, 1922.

Greente, Mgr. G. *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises. Le 16e siècle*. Paris, 1951.

Groeber, G. *Geschichte der mittelfranzösischen Literatur*. Berlin-Leipzig, 1933.
—. *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*. Strasburg, 1888-1902.
2 vols. Herein referred to as Ggr.

Lachèvre, F. *Bibliographie des recueils collectifs de poésies publiées de 1597 à 1700*. Paris, 1901-1905.

Macfarlane, J. *Antoine Vérard*. London, 1900.

Maugis, E. *Histoire du Parlement de Paris*. Paris, 1913-16. 3 vols.

Mély, F. de, and Bishop, Edmund. *Bibliographie générale des inventaires imprimés*. Paris, 1892-95.

Pansier, Dr. P. *Histoire du livre et de l'imprimerie à Avignon, du 14e au 16e siècle*. Avignon, 1922.

Pellechet, M. *Catalogue général des incunables*. Paris, 1905.
—. *Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque d'un chanoine d'Autun, Claude Guillaud*. Paris-Autun, 1890.

Picot, E. *Catalogue des livres composant la bibliothèque de feu M. le Baron James de Rothschild*. Paris, 1884-1920.

Renouard, Ph. *Bibliographie des éditions de Simon de Colines, 1520-46*.

Paris, 1894. See also the manuscript "Fiches" of the Bibliothèque Nationale, alphabetically arranged.

Reynier, G. *Le roman sentimental avant l'Astrée*. Paris, 1908.

Tchemerzine, A. *Bibliographie d'éditions originales et rares d'auteurs français des XV^e, XVI^e, XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*. Paris, 1927-34.

Tilley, A. *The Literature of the French Renaissance*. Cambridge, 1904.

———. *Studies in the French Renaissance*. Cambridge, 1922.





